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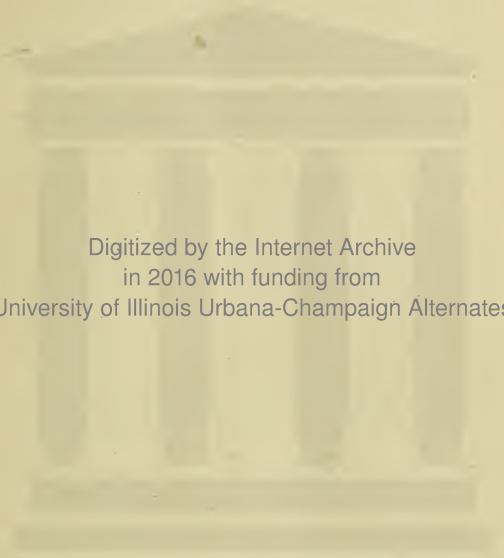
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REVOLUTIONARY TIMES.

Mrs. Jehiel Clark.

By the Same Author.

Abbott's Paragraph Histories.

THE UNITED STATES from the
Discovery of the Continent to the
Present Time.

THE AMERICAN REVOLU-
TION.

Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1876.

REVOLUTIONARY TIMES:

*SKETCHES OF OUR COUNTRY,
ITS PEOPLE, AND
THEIR WAYS,*

One Hundred Years Ago.

BY EDWARD ABBOTT.

BOSTON:
ROBERTS BROTHERS.

1876.

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Press of John Wilson & Son.

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REMOTE STORAGE

A PREFATORY NOTE.

22 Feb. 98 Sp. vol. 210 = a2

To sketch the being and doing of a considerable people, occupying an extended territory, at a momentous period, and all within the compass of two hundred pages, is an undertaking of which too much will not be expected by the considerate reader. Such a sketch must necessarily confine itself to the surface of things, and then can only touch upon a few points that are prominent. For further particulars, inquiry must be made of other works, whose scope is broader and purpose deeper, a partial enumeration of which will be found at the end of the volume. I have here but filled a note-book with rough and scattered memoranda. My hope is that it may render some such humble service as that of the

803258

country guide-board, directing those whose eye it catches into pleasant ways beyond.

I am indebted to Hon. Charles Francis Adams and to Mr. Samuel Adams Drake for their kind permission respectively to make the extracts which appear from the "Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife," and from "Old Landmarks of Boston." And to Mr. Drake my grateful acknowledgments are further due for his friendly aid in the critical revision of the proofs.

E. A.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.,

April 25, 1876.

CONTENTS.

I. POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY.

A Map of the United States in 1776. — The Capitals. — Principal Towns. — Population. — Products. — The Interior. — The Pacific Coast. — Government. . . 11

II. CITIES AND TOWNS.

Tendency to Rural Population. — Five "Self-centred" Cities. — Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania Towns. — New York. — Boston. — New England Towns. — Baltimore and Annapolis. — Charleston, S.C. — Savannah, etc. 19

III. PUBLIC COMMUNICATIONS.

Narrative of Elkanah Watson. — Roads. — The Stagecoach. — Coasters. — Military Transportation. — The Mails. — A Letter Carrier. — The Country Post-office. 45

IV. SOME GENERAL FEATURES OF CHARACTER AND LIFE.

The Military Coloring. — New England Traits. — Sectional Contrasts. — Wealth. — Morality. — Social Troubles. — A "Statement." — Punishments. — "Strong Licker." — Slavery. — Dress and the Fashions. — Arms and Ammunition. — Amusements. —

A Concert. — The Theatre. — Josiah Quincy's Opinion. — Vote of Congress. — Anecdote of Lafayette. — Dancing and Public Balls. — Lafayette and the Baltimore Ladies. — Patriotic Sentiment. — A Patriotic Barber. 59

V. DOMESTIC CONCERNS.

The Self-contained Home. — An Old House. — A Domestic Interior. — The Kitchen. — Children. — Courtship and Marriage. — A Romantic Proposal. — A Quaint Wedding Notice. — John Hancock and Dorothy Q. — Burials and Funerals. — An Old Wardrobe. — Household Furniture. — Food. — Prices. — Regulation of Prices. — Prices in Boston and Philadelphia. — Money and the Currency. . . . 80

VI. EDUCATION.

Schools and Colleges. — Dartmouth in its Infancy — Honorary Degrees. — Harvard and Washington's "LL.D." — Interruptions by the War. — Educated Men in the Continental Congress. — Professional Schools. — A "Morning School" in Boston. . . 102

VII. LITERATURE.

General Traits of the Period. — Statesmen in Literature, Washington, Jefferson, etc. — Charles Thompson. — The Bartrams. — Ballad Literature. — Du Simitière and Freneau. — Timothy Dwight and the Yale "Quartette." — John Trumbull. — A Philadelphia Magazine. — Thomas Paine. — Other Writers. — Philis Wheatley. — Libraries. — An Old Bookstore, etc. — The Author his own Publisher. — Publication of "The Conquest of Canaan." 114

VIII. THE PRESS.

General Characteristics of the Newspapers. — No "Journalism." — Boston Papers. — Isaiah Thomas and the Massachusetts Spy. — Other Massachusetts Papers. — The New England Chronicle for July 4, 1776. — Other Papers in New England. — The New York Press. — The Press in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the Southern States. — Scarcity of Paper. — The Ragman. — Subscription Rates. 132

IX. THE CHURCHES AND THE CLERGY.

A Religious People. — Rank of the Denominations. — Eminent Ministers. — Influence of the Clergy. — Dr. Emmons, of Franklin. — Salaries. — The Old Meeting-house. — Church Music. — The Sabba'-Day House. — Public Religious Days. — Washington and "Close Communion." — Old Historic Churches. . . . 145

X. PROFESSIONS AND TRADES.

The Agricultural Interest. — General Montgomery's Farm. — Farm Life. — Wages. — Manufactures. — The Country Store. — Lawyers. — The "Moot" Society in New York. — Famous Painters. — Copley, Peale, and Others. 161

XI. THE MEN AND WOMEN OF THE REVOLUTION.

The Military Group. — Washington and his Generals. — The Foreign Officers. — The Civil Group. — Franklin and the Signers of the Declaration. — Mrs. Mercy Warren. — Mrs. General Knox. — Mrs. General Greene. — Mrs. Mary Draper. — The Mother of Washington. — The Girls of Kinderhook. — A Sisterly Letter. — A Georgia Maiden. 171

XII. ODDS AND ENDS.

Old Families. — The Draytons. — The Fairfaxes. —
 The Small-pox. — Humors of its Treatment. — The
 Weather. — Duelling. — “The Hard Winter.” — The
 “Dark Day.” — The Prospect as viewed from
 1776. 184

APPENDIX.

List of Works consulted in the Preparation of this
 Book. — List of Works, including many of Great
 Rarity, relating to the Subject. 199

INDEX 205

REVOLUTIONARY TIMES.



I.

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY.

AT the time of the American Revolution, the civilized settlements of the country were confined almost exclusively to a narrow strip of territory along the Atlantic coast. A map of the United States, as they were at the Declaration of Independence, in 1776, presents very striking contrasts to a map of the same at the present day. Such a map, in the first place, undertakes to show only about one-third of the breadth of the continent, the Mississippi River being the extreme western boundary of the field under survey. The great lakes are in their places, of course; and the great rivers and other distinguishing features of the physical geography have undergone no marked change. But the political geography is strangely different. Now the

country lies east and west, stretching from ocean to ocean, embracing the great lakes above and washed by the great Gulf below ; then it lay north and south, a narrow margin, like a thin wave rolled up from the great sea. Civilization had but gilded the edge of the continent, and brightened only here and there a spot in the interior. If we conceive of our imaginary map as lightened where the country is settled and darkened where it is not, then by far the greater part of it is dark. There is the light strip along the coast from New Brunswick to the borders of what is now Florida. There is a dash of white along the St. Lawrence River, and another about the mouth of the Mississippi ; and there are light spots in the interior, where are now Pittsburg, St. Louis, and Knoxville. There are settlements also at Niagara and Detroit, and one or two others in the valley of the Ohio. But Maine is only a province of Massachusetts, and Vermont has not yet emerged from between New Hampshire and New York. From the Alleghanies to the Mississippi, and from the Gulf to the lakes, the wilderness is almost

wholly unbroken. The Miamis, the Shawnees, the Delawares, the Cherokees, the Creeks, the Choctaws, and others of the Indian tribes, are in possession.

The thirteen original Colonies, which in 1776 resolved themselves into the United States of America, were as follows : —

COLONIES.	CAPITALS.
New Hampshire	Exeter.
Massachusetts	Boston.
Rhode Island	Providence and Newport.
Connecticut	Hartford and New Haven.
New York	New York.
New Jersey	Amboy.
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia.
Delaware	Newcastle.
Maryland	Annapolis.
Virginia	Williamsburg.
North Carolina	Newbern.
South Carolina	Charleston.
Georgia	Savannah.

The names of these capitals are of course the prominent names upon the maps of the time. Taking heavy type as a token of rank, the places of first importance are Philadelphia, New York, and Boston ; then come

Portsmouth, in New Hampshire ; Providence, in Rhode Island ; Hartford, in Connecticut ; Baltimore and Annapolis, in Maryland ; Newbern, in North Carolina ; Charleston (or *Charlestown*, as it was commonly called), in South Carolina ; and Savannah, in Georgia : while in a third rank seem to stand Falmouth (now Portland), in Maine ; Cambridge and Plymouth, in Massachusetts ; Lancaster and Reading, in Pennsylvania ; Newcastle, in Delaware ; Norfolk, in Virginia ; and Augusta, in Georgia. Judging from a hasty glance, several score of towns are named in Massachusetts, less than twenty in New Jersey, about thirty in Virginia, and towards forty in South Carolina ; these, however, being by no means all.

Outside of these the larger towns, the colonists were still struggling more or less with the wilderness, except where a kindly soil had surrendered itself more quickly to discipline and culture. Little by little the settlers were pushing out from the centres into the regions beyond. This was noticeably the case in Maine and in New Hampshire. The Isles

of Shoals already had a hardy population, which, however, was temporarily ejected during the Revolution for unpatriotic conduct. Vermont, as we have before intimated, was not ; its territory being an object of contention between New York and New Hampshire. In Massachusetts, the most populous of the Colonies, 300,000 people had settled into a thrifty, prosperous, and placid life. Rhode Island had a population of about 60,000, devoted to the raising of general produce, with some attempts at tobacco culture. New York, with a population of 164,000, had pushed out into the Mohawk Valley ; and one of the most inviting of the Pennsylvania settlements was that in the valley of Wyoming. New Jersey made a less favorable impression upon some beholders. The farms of Maryland again were proverbially fine, though the province was not thickly settled. The peach culture had been begun in Virginia. Daniel Boone was just setting out for Kentucky at the head of an enterprising company of pioneers. The Carolinas, naturally marked by differences of soil and climate, were already

showing some contrasts in temper and habit. North Carolina enjoyed the infusion of a considerable Presbyterian element ; while in South Carolina, years before, a colony from Massachusetts had found a home, which, in a filial spirit, they called Dorchester. Florida was in the hands of the English, but in a very unsettled condition ; and the Spanish held Louisiana.

Ten years before this time, it had been written by an intelligent observer : * “ Every Colony in America seems to have, as it were, a staple commodity peculiar to itself : as Canada, the fur ; Massachusetts Bay, fish ; Connecticut, lumber ; New York and Pennsylvania, wheat ; Virginia and Maryland, tobacco ; North Carolina, pitch and tar ; South Carolina, rice and indigo ; Georgia, rice and silk.”

The colonization of the West was yet a dream of the Anglo-Americans, the designs of France and Spain standing in the way of its fulfilment. The present great state of Ohio had not a white settlement. St. Louis

* John Bartram.

was a Spanish town. What is now Indiana had but a single settlement, that at Vincennes. Detroit was a far-distant outpost, sheltering a few hundred pioneers. This whole region was an unbroken waste, saving at these few scattered points, which were in large measure military and trading stations. Over all the Indian had free range. Adventurers were exploring the lakes and the rivers, and currents of emigration were only slowly setting in. And on the 9th of October, 1776, three months after the Declaration of Independence, two Franciscan monks, indefatigable missionaries of the Roman Church, took possession of the Pacific coast by the founding of their Mission of San Francisco, the germ of the modern city of that name.

In the period we are surveying — of shifting constitutions and changing governments — it is difficult to take any instantaneous and exact picture of the political structure. The process by which the thirteen Colonies transformed themselves into the thirteen States covered a period of several years, and was nearly coincident with the military operations

of the Revolution. Looking at the final result, and dwelling only on general principles, it may be said that that change consisted simply in substituting for the authority of the king the sovereignty of the people. Each State had its governor and its legislature, the powers of government being chiefly lodged with the latter. The prerogatives of the governors were greatly restricted. The right of suffrage was general, but was abridged in a few States by a property qualification, and in a few by the fact of color. Except in one or two of the New England States, little official emphasis was placed upon education ; but, throughout all, religious liberty was guarded with an ever increasing care. To some extent religious tests were for a while required for office ; but the Church was practically dis-severed from the State, and substantial religious equality was enjoyed by all. Truth had been given a fair field in which to establish her claims, and the individual conscience was to be emancipated from all human control.

II.

CITIES AND TOWNS.

IF it be true, as there is some ground for saying, that the city presents the highest type of civilization, then the growth of the country during the century has been toward such a civilization at a rapid rate and in a marked degree. The great cities of the United States now mass within themselves something like one-fifth of the entire population. A hundred years ago the proportion was very different; the cities and large towns being then comparatively few and relatively small, and the population far more evenly distributed between town and country.

A recent writer has given new currency to the remark of an experienced traveller and shrewd observer, to the effect that now "there are five cities in the United States worth living in, — Boston, New York, Washington, New Orleans, and San Francisco. Each," he adds,

"is self-centred, and in each you find a society with a marked individual flavor." This remark, as it applies to the present order of leading American cities, seems inexact and unjust, in so far as it excludes Philadelphia and Baltimore. In making a similar remark a hundred years ago, both of those towns would certainly have been entitled to mention, taking the places of Washington and San Francisco ; while Charleston would have been named in place of New Orleans.

Measured by population, Philadelphia was chiefest of the five "individually flavored" and "self-centred" towns of the Revolutionary period ; while its central location endowed it with additional importance, as was instanced in its selection for the sessions of the Continental Congress.

The population of Philadelphia at the time of its occupation by the British in 1777-78 was determined by a census taken by Cornwallis to be something over twenty-one thousand ; but at this time, it must be remembered, there had been a considerable exo-

dus of citizens, because of the presence of the enemy. Its normal population was much larger. It was the same city of regular streets which it is to-day. Around it lay the most fertile and highly cultivated regions of the State. When possessed of its full strength, it could send eight thousand people to a mass meeting. It was an abode of wealth ; and its citizens were distinguished for their intelligence and for social qualities of the highest order. Penn and the Quakers had infused the community with peculiar elements. The commercial spirit was active and enterprising, and the rewards of industry were generously handled. The aristocratic reserve of its society was softened by a philanthropic and hospitable spirit, and a distinguished courtesy ; though class lines were drawn with considerable distinctness. The tranquil life enjoyed before the Revolution was of course seriously disturbed during the years of conflict ; and the occupation of the city by the British served to introduce an element of riotous living, for which there had been no place before.

Carpenters' Hall, in which the first Con-

tinental Congress assembled, was a considerable structure, standing a little off of Chestnut Street, between Third and Fourth. It was of two stories, brick, with a cupola, and had been erected for the accommodation of the Society of House Carpenters. The hall in which the Congress held its sessions occupied the entire lower floor, being an apartment about forty-five feet square, with a recess of a quarter of that area in the rear. Here, on Monday, the 5th of September, 1774, assembled the fifty-five delegates of twelve out of the thirteen Colonies, Georgia alone not being represented. "There is in this Congress," wrote John Adams, "a collection of the greatest men upon this Continent in point of abilities, virtues, and fortunes." Among them were George Washington, Patrick Henry, Christopher Gadsden, Edward and John Rutledge, Samuel and John Adams, and John Jay. "Every man," again wrote John Adams, "is a great man, an orator, a critic, a statesman; and therefore every man upon every question must show his oratory, his criticism, his political abilities. The consequence is that busi-

ness is spun out to an immeasurable length." The "immeasurable length" was eight weeks, during thirty-one days only of which the Congress was in actual session. The sessions of the second Continental Congress—the body by which the immortal Declaration of Independence was made—were held in the old State House, now known as Independence Hall. At that time, this edifice, by the addition of two wings in 1739-40 to the original structure, was one of the largest and finest devoted to civil purposes in the country. Afterward (in 1783) the grounds about it were embellished with trees and shrubbery, by John Vaughan, an English gentleman of note, who had become a resident of the city. The great bell which was rung upon the Declaration was one that had been brought from England in 1752, and, having been almost immediately cracked, recast in 1753. It was in the shadow of this Hall that, on the 8th of July, the Declaration was first publicly read to a vast assemblage of people, gathered from the city and the surrounding regions.

There were other buildings of interest in

Philadelphia, and institutions of note and influence. There was the "Veteran House," where tools, materials, and other requisites were furnished to persons out of employment; who were also therein provided with lodging, food, and clothing at reasonable rates. There was an "American Manufactory," on the corner of Market and Ninth Streets, to which all spinners were invited to come, to receive supplies of cotton, wool, flax, etc. There was a market, of which the boast was made that it was the finest upon the Continent. There were clubs, among them St. George's, formed of the natives of Old England residing in the city. And there was the Philosophical Society, already influential in the promotion of scientific study. One of the curious places of the city was a wax-work collection belonging to a Mrs. Wells, a sister of a niece of John Wesley, where were startling figures of the Prodigal Son, and of various real notabilities of more recent times; the whole constituting an attraction which even a sedate congressman might not successfully resist. Beside the

State House and the Market, there was a small court-house, a work-house, and an alms-house ; the primitive buildings of the college and academy, since become the University of Pennsylvania ; two Quaker meeting-houses, and eight other churches. Germantown, Whitemarsh, and Valley Forge were all near enough to the city to be intimately related to its history ; and on the mills at Frankford, a few miles away, the people were chiefly dependent for their flour.

A very interesting inland town of Pennsylvania was Bethlehem. It enjoyed an agreeable situation, and a valuable water power which was utilized to the support of a large group of important mills, and was already in possession of a very excellent water system, which supplied the town from a sufficient "head." The following extract from one of Mr. Adams's letters gives a pleasant glimpse of the interior life of the town : * —

There are three public institutions here of a very remarkable nature ; one, a society of the young men ;

* Familiar Letters, p. 241.

another, of the young women; and a third, of the widows. There is a large building, divided into many apartments, where the young men reside by themselves, and carry on their several trades. They pay a rent to the society for their rooms, and they pay for their board; and what they earn is their own. There is another large building appropriated in the same manner to the young women. There is a governess, a little like the lady abbess in some other institutions, who has the superintendence of the whole; and they have elders. Each apartment has a number of young women who are vastly industrious, some spinning, some weaving, others employed in all the most curious works in linen, wool, cotton, silver and gold, silk and velvet. This institution displeased me much. Their dress was uniform and clean, but very inelegant. Their rooms were kept extremely warm with Dutch stoves; and the heat, the want of fresh air and exercise, relaxed the poor girls in such a manner as must, I think, destroy their health. Their countenances were languid and pale.

Lancaster, sixty miles west of Philadelphia, was reputed, in 1777, the largest inland town in America. It then contained about a thousand houses and about six thousand people. Then as now it was the centre of a very delightful agricultural region, and was the

seat of some important manufactures. Yorktown, which received some prominence as the temporary seat of Congress, was a place of inconsiderable size, but had four churches. Newark, N.J., being on the line of travel between New York and Philadelphia, saw and heard much of the affairs of the time, but had a population of only about a thousand. Princeton already had distinction by reason of its excellent college. Pittsburg, now but a day's journey to the West, was then on the extreme border, almost the last outpost before plunging into the wilderness of the interior. Easton, Penn., was chiefly inhabited by the Dutch, and contained a fine stone church, built and occupied jointly by Lutherans and Calvinists. The buildings generally were of stone. Albany was not yet the State capital, but was a town of much political and commercial importance.

New York City in the Revolution had a population rising a little above 20,000. The town occupied but a very small part of its present area. In fact, it extended over but

little more than the mere point of Manhattan Island. The population was confined almost wholly to the district lying below the present Reade and Catharine Streets. What is now the City Hall Park was then at the extreme north end. On the west side there were no regular streets laid out above Warren Street ; on the east side, Bowery Lane carried the city up a little beyond that line into what was called "the Out Ward," beyond which farms stretched away in an unbroken expanse. The six other wards were known by the names of West, South, Dock, East, North, and Montgomerie. To one approaching the city from the harbor, its south-western front presented almost an appearance of "heights" like those of Brooklyn, so bold and steep was the fall-away of the land at the water's edge ; but on the eastern side the slope was more gradual. Then, as now, Broadway followed the watershed of the island, but came to an end about at Chambers Street ; while toward the easterly side the Bowery Lane led into the "Road to Albany and Boston." Among the prominent streets were Broad, Smith, Gold, Queen's,

Church, Water, and William. A ferry at the foot of Maiden Lane communicated with the Long Island shore. The wharves were mostly confined to the East River front, along which ships could lie for a distance of a mile or more. Business found all the room it needed in the precincts near the water. The upper part of Wall Street was a favorite and fashionable place of residence, Broadway being wholly free from trade, and its lower end, in the vicinity of the Bowling Green, the choicer.

The public buildings of the city included the City Hall, at the head of Broad Street, where the Treasury Building now stands ; and the Royal Exchange, at the foot of Broad Street where it joined with Dock ; the latter, a curious building, raised by arches upon pillars, so as to leave its ground floor open on all sides.

The churches of old New York hardly need any description, much less enumeration. There was Trinity, of course, but then a very unpretending structure ; the Old Brick Church, on Chatham Street or Park Row, where the "Times" Building now stands, and

at that time an "up-town church ;" the Middle Dutch Church, on Nassau Street, whose quaint exterior still preserves its identity, notwithstanding the many changes it underwent while in use as a post-office ; the North Dutch Church, on the corner of Fulton and William Streets ; and the John Street Methodist Church ; with others that we need not stop to mention.

New York had many and notable taverns and coffee-houses ; the chief of the former being the City Tavern, which stood almost at the very foot of Broadway, and bore at one time the common and popular name of "The Bunch of Grapes." Another of about equal prominence was the "Queen Charlotte," on a corner of Broad and Dock Streets, where was spread that farewell dinner at which Washington took leave of his officers at the close of the war. The coffee-houses were places of great resort, until the war disarranged the social relations and serene condition of the people. Here the newspapers were to be seen ; and here gentlemen gathered for intercourse and discussion, after the pleasant English plan.

The Tontine Coffee-House, on the corner of Wall and Water Streets, which however belonged to a somewhat later day, was reputed the equal of any in London. Here one could live in handsome style for £70 or £80 a year, "wine and porter excepted."

There were many fine private residences in New York, the most famous of which, the Walton House, stood in what is now Franklin Square, then almost out of town. This was a very elaborate and costly edifice, fifty feet in front and three stories high, nearly all the materials of which were imported from England. Through the other parts of the island were scattered many fine estates, among them those of the De Lanceys, the Wattses, the Bayards, the Apthorps, the Stuyvesants, the Morrises, and the Livingstons.

The city had its markets, a rude attempt at water-works, the luxury of ice in summer, societies of benevolence and culture, clubs, and many other appurtenances of a life of elegance and ease. Its commerce was considerable, as many as six hundred sail of vessels entering the harbor during one of

the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the war. There was no bank, but there were insurance companies and commercial societies; and the merchants by their foresight and enterprise gave promise of the vast development which the metropolis has attained in the century now closed.

A very conspicuous object of the city in colonial times was the equestrian statue of George the Third, which stood in the centre of the Bowling Green. It was overthrown by the soldiers in a fit of patriotism following the Declaration of Independence; and, according to tradition, the lead of which it was composed was removed, to be run into bullets for the use of the American army. A great event in New York, and one which is indissolubly linked with the Revolutionary period, was the conflagration which broke out on the 21st of September, 1776, and which laid a large portion of the city in ruins. It began near the Battery, in the night; and, driven by a fresh wind, the flames spread with great rapidity, and swept away almost every thing between Broad Street and the North River,

as high up as the City Hall, and even further ; sparing not even Trinity Church, or a number of other important buildings. The fire was charged upon the Americans by the British as a piece of incendiarism.

Only as respects the size of its population can the Boston of Revolutionary times be made to take rank below New York and Philadelphia. If not the body, it was the brain, and at the same time the heart, of the young nation ; and in moral quality and power yielded place to none of its rivals. The area of the town comprised about seven hundred acres, shaped almost into an island, the neck which attached the territory to the mainland being so narrow and so low that the high tides often broke across it. Viewed in the midst of its surroundings, it presented a very different aspect from that of to-day. East Boston was Noddle's Island. South Boston was Dorchester Heights. Dorchester, Roxbury, Brookline, and Cambridge were remote villages. The "Back Bay" was a bay indeed. Charlestown was a peninsula of pas-

tures, with but a touch of settlement on that extremity which lay directly opposite Boston. No bridges whatsoever connected the town with any of its environs. The foot of Boylston Street, where the Providence Railroad Depot now stands, was washed by the tides, and the water also skirted the whole western border of the Common. There were between fifteen hundred and two thousand houses, most of the buildings of the town being clustered on the harbor front. The crooked streets were illy paved. There were no sidewalks in the modern sense, and no public street lights. The population was not far from 17,000.

Of the three historic hills of Old Boston, — Copp's Hill, Fort Hill, and Beacon Hill, — not one retains to-day the appearance of a hundred years ago. Fort Hill has been razed within the memory of some of the younger inhabitants. Beacon Hill had been considerably dug away before it received its present crown of buildings, private and public; and Copp's Hill, when it was utilized by the British for the bombardment of the American

works at Charlestown, on the occasion of the Battle of Bunker's Hill, had an abrupt and considerable cliff facing the water's edge.

One of the choice precincts of Old Boston, Bowdoin Square, retains a measure of its dignity to this very day ; but another, even choicer, Church Green, at the junction of Summer and Bedford Streets, has given place to a far different scene. The Great Elm on the Common, now just fallen of old age, had then a companion in the Liberty Tree, a noble elm which stood at the junction of Washington, Essex, and Boylston Streets. This was the patriots' rendezvous, and was cut down out of sheer spite by the Tories, while the British were in possession of the city in the autumn of 1775.

The public buildings of the town included, first and foremost, Faneuil Hall, at that time a two-storied structure ; the old State House, at the head of King Street, now State Street, with sun-dial in place of clock, and tower considerably higher than it is now ; and the royal Custom House, on the south-east corner of Exchange and King Streets. A notable

building was the Manufactory House, which stood about where Hamilton Place now opens out of Tremont Street. This was a two-story building of brick, one hundred and forty feet long, with wings, and as late as 1784 commanded an unobstructed view to the southward. It was at first the home of various trades and manufactures encouraged by the State, but afterwards housed the Massachusetts Bank, and finally was turned into a family abode. The Music Hall of those times was Concert Hall, on the southerly corner of Court and Hanover Streets. Here the aristocracy of the town attended many of their concerts and their balls.

Of the churches of Boston, none occupied a more prominent place than the Old South, whose history and associations are so familiar that they need not be recounted here. Then there was the Brattle Street Church, which, like the Old South, was made to harbor British troops; the Old North Church at the North End, which General Howe demolished and turned into fuel; the New North Church on Hanover Street; the West Church on

Cambridge Street, which also served as barracks to the British ; the First Church, or Old Brick, where Joy's Building now stands ; King's Chapel ; Trinity Church, then of wood, predecessor to the granite structure which the great fire of 1872 laid low ; Christ Church, at the North End, in its day one of the ornaments of the town, and from whose steeple was hung the signal lantern "on the eighteenth of April, 'seventy-five ;" and the Church on Federal Street, the location after made celebrated by the ministry of Dr. Channing.

At the time of which we write, there was no block of buildings in Boston. There was little architectural pretension of any kind. The common material was wood, and brick buildings were few and far between. There were, however, some notable houses. There was the Province House, a stately edifice, in open grounds nearly opposite the head of Milk Street. This was built of brick, in three stories, with considerable attempts at decoration both within and without. The Faneuil Mansion, which stood about opposite to the present Museum, on the hill-side back from

the street, was another imposing house. Perhaps as grand and fine as any, and a good specimen of a town mansion in colonial times, was the Hancock House, which only within a few years has yielded its place to more modern abodes. The Hancock grounds comprised a considerable area upon the summit of Beacon Hill. The site of the State House was the pasture, and gardens and orchards extended all around. The Hancock House is well worth pausing to look at as a specimen colonial mansion. Let us take Mr. Drake's description of it: * —

The building was of stone, built in the substantial manner favored by the wealthier Bostonians. The walls were massive. A balcony projected over the entrance-door, upon which opened a large window of the second story. The corners and window-openings were ornamented with Braintree stone, and the tiled roof was surmounted by a balustrade. Dormer windows jutted out from the roof, from which might be obtained a view as beautiful as extensive. A low stone wall protected the grounds from the street, on which was placed a light wooden fence, with gate-posts of the same material. A paved walk and a dozen

* Old Landmarks of Boston, p. 339.

stone steps conducted to the mansion, situated on rising ground at a little distance back from the street. Before the door was a wide stone slab, worn by the feet of the distinguished inhabitant and his illustrious guests. A wooden hall, designed for festive occasions, sixty feet in length, was joined to the northern wing: it was afterwards removed to Allen Street.

The description of the interior is thus continued in Mr. Drake's pages by Miss Gardner, who was long an inmate of the house: *—

As you entered the governor's mansion, to the right was the drawing or reception room, with furniture of bird's-eye maple covered with rich damask. Out of this opened the dining hall referred to, in which Hancock gave the famous breakfast to Admiral d'Estaing and his officers. Opposite this was a smaller apartment, the usual dining-hall of the family; next adjoining were the china-room and offices, with coach-house and barn behind.

At the left of the entrance was a second saloon, or family drawing-room, the walls covered with crimson paper. The upper and lower halls were hung with pictures of game-hunting scenes, and other subjects. Passing through this hall, another flight of steps led through the garden to a small summer-house close to Mount Vernon Street. The grounds were laid out in

* Old Landmarks of Boston, p. 339.

ornamental flower-beds bordered with box. Box-trees of large size, with a great variety of fruit, among which were several immense mulberry-trees, dotted the garden.

But we must not linger longer even in Boston.

Of other towns in New England, Falmouth, now Portland, was already in occupation of its charming site, and was the most important town in the old province of Maine. It had some four hundred dwelling-houses, some of them noticeable for size and elegance, and each with its garden; and there were several churches and a library. Portsmouth, N.H., was likewise in the enjoyment of a respectable age and a lucrative commerce. Exeter was the seat of the State government, and boasted five or six hundred dwelling-houses. Newburyport had just received the remains of Rev. George Whitefield, and was all aflame with patriotic fire. Salem had about four hundred houses; was active, enterprising, and opulent. Marblehead had distinguished itself for its fish trade, and as a breeding

place of sailors. Cambridge was "a pretty town," chiefly worthy of consideration as the seat of Harvard College. Watertown was reputed a place of considerable importance, but was scarcely more than a village. Springfield counted about two hundred buildings, including one meeting-house and five taverns, affording accommodations for a population of something less than 1,500. Newport, R.I., had been eclipsed by Providence, whose population was now about 5,000. Hartford, Conn., was not yet an incorporated city; nor was New Haven.

Casting the eye now again to the southward, we find in Maryland only two towns of any importance; namely, Baltimore and Annapolis, a pleasant rivalry existing between the two. No District of Columbia had yet been blocked out of the State. Georgetown had a score or so of houses; but the site of Washington was still held by pastures and plantations. Annapolis had been the headquarters of Revolutionary sentiment in the years immediately preceding the war, and the old buildings which it preserves to this day

show much of its appearance a hundred years ago. The State House was erected in 1772, and was greatly admired at the time, as it deserved to be. Maryland's four signers of the Declaration — Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, and Charles Carroll — were all residents of Annapolis ; and full-length portraits of them all, two by Copley, still adorn the walls of the Senate Chamber. Paca is shown in a claret-colored coat, a white silk vest, black silk breeches, and white silk stockings ; Stone, in a suit of graver hue.

Baltimore was then as ever beautiful for situation ; had a population of from 6,000 to 7,000 ; and was noted for its wealth and culture. Enjoying comparative immunity from the disturbances caused by the Revolution, its prosperity was scarcely interrupted thereby. Many of its opulent merchants and aristocratic families established their country-seats in the environs of the town, where they dwelt in ease, and administered a generous hospitality.

The most important town at the far South was Charleston, S.C., whose spacious harbor

attracted a considerable commerce. The sight of several hundred vessels there assembled at a time was not an uncommon one. Previous to the great fire of 1778, Charleston contained nearly 2,000 houses, besides many public buildings, among which latter was an imposing Exchange. The chief exports were rice and indigo, and the rapid accumulation of wealth favored a luxurious and showy manner of life. The society of the town was distinguished by many beautiful and accomplished women. No other of the Colonies sent so many of its sons and daughters abroad for their education ; and the English spirit infused itself into many of the customs of the people.

Savannah was covered to some extent by the shadow of Charleston, but was the centre of an intelligent and patriotic life, and lay surrounded with large and fertile plantations, devoted to the culture of rice, tobacco, and indigo ; with some mulberry orchards contributing to the silk manufacture. Augusta was scarcely more than a remote trading-post. About ten miles from Savannah was "Bethesda," the orphan house founded by White-

field, for the accommodation of children of deceased settlers. Mr. Piercy, an Episcopal clergyman, was in charge. New Orleans, then an object of contention between the Spanish and the French, had a population of about 3,000, of whom a third were slaves ; but possessed an importance of its own as the head-quarters of the Spanish population in the valley of the Mississippi, which amounted to upwards of 13,000.

III.

PUBLIC COMMUNICATIONS.

THERE is extant a brief narrative which furnishes at once graphic pictures of some of the foregoing towns, and many others, and a very vivid idea of the difficulties and perils of travel in the United States a hundred years ago. The narrative is that of Elkanah Watson, a young Rhode-Islander, who, in 1777, made the journey from Providence to Charleston, S.C., on an errand of considerable responsibility. Though but nineteen years of age, he possessed excellent powers of observation and a mature judgment ; and the daily journal which he kept has no small historical value, as an outline of it will readily make plain.

It was early in September when young Watson set forth, on horseback of course ; a “hanger” at his side and a pair of pistols at his holster. His way led him first through

the farms of Eastern Connecticut to Hartford, which he found to be "a wealthy and respectable place" of about three hundred houses. New Haven was somewhat larger. On crossing the Hudson, which he did at Peekskill, he entered a community of Dutch and Germans ; whose neat houses, generally of stone, pleased him, and whose quaint table-customs gave him some amusement. At Morristown, N.J., he fell in with two other travellers going in the same direction, and exchanged his seat on the saddle for one in a "sulky." The British having just taken possession of Philadelphia, the party were obliged to make a considerable detour, by way of Reading, Lancaster, and York ; and even then suffered a night's arrest at one point, on suspicion of being British spies. They spent two days at Bethlehem, "an interesting place," where a "spacious tavern" afforded them very welcome comforts.

The next points of interest in their way were Reading, then containing about four hundred houses ; Reamstown, where young Watson had for the first time a personal experience of the German custom of sleeping between two

beds ; and Euphrates, “ within sound of Washington’s cannon at Germantown.” At Euphrates an opportunity was afforded of studying a community of “ Dunkers,” numbering about one hundred persons, whose peculiarities did not excite admiration.

Passing Lancaster, they came to York, where Congress, driven out of Philadelphia, was then in session, and where passports had to be obtained for a continuation of the journey ; which, so far, had occupied just a month.

Crossing Maryland and entering Virginia, Mr. Watson found Fredericksburg to be a pleasantly situated village of less than a thousand inhabitants, surrounded by fine plantations. Williamsburg, the capital, contained upwards of three hundred dwellings, built chiefly of wood, on one street nearly a mile in length.

Entering North Carolina, the first place of importance was Edenton, with its thirty-five houses and brick court-house. Thence the route lay, partly by water and partly by land, to Bath, the region being generally uninhab-

ited and desolate. The river Neuse was ferried by night with no little difficulty and some danger; and Newbern, the capital of the Colony, was finally reached with great satisfaction. It contained at the time about one hundred and fifty dwellings.

Between Newbern and Wilmington, the next town in course, lay an almost unbroken wilderness; at one point of which our traveller lost his way, and in another encountered a large bear. Wilmington had been a place of considerable trade, which was now however at a stand-still, owing to the war. Some distance beyond Wilmington, the road took advantage for the length of sixteen miles of the beach, whose hard surface and exhilarating prospect gave delightful relief from the monotonous loneliness of the swamps and pine-barrens. Half-way along this beach-road, a party of travellers was met going northwards, who had with them the tidings of Burgoyne's surrender, the same having reached the South by a more expeditious way. On the 18th of November, Mr. Watson entered Charleston, having occupied seventy days in travelling 1,243 miles.

Mr. Watson's errand, it may be said, was to convey a very large sum of money to his employer's agents at the South. His funds were not in the shape of the checks or drafts of modern times, but, it would seem, in cash, securely quilted into the lining of his coat. Subsequently he extended his journey into Georgia; and, in the following spring, returned to the North by the way he had come. The conclusions which he reached as the result of this extensive tour have a peculiar interest by reason of their prophetic character:—

The map of the world presents to view no country which combines so many natural advantages, is so pleasantly diversified, and offers to agriculture, manufactures, and commerce so many resources, all of which cannot fail to conduct America to the first rank among nations. This I prophesy. It must be so. In contemplating future America, the mind is lost in the din of cities, in harbors and rivers crowded with sails, and in the immensity of the population. . . . Admitting our population to double every twenty-three years, the result, in a hundred years, will be sixty-two millions of republican freemen, approaching one hundred millions in the year 1900, which will be nearly equal to all Europe at the present day.

One incident related by Mr. Watson strik-

ingly illustrates the hospitality for which the South has ever been celebrated. He and a companion stopped one day at noon in the vicinity of Beaufort, at a house which they supposed to be a tavern ; and ordered dinner, with wine, in a spirit of the utmost freedom. On inquiring for their bill, their entertainer's reply was : "Gentlemen, I keep no tavern, but am very much obliged to you for your visit." And, not content with this, he exacted from his visitors a promise to stop with him again, when they should afterwards pass that way.

It is easy to see from this recital what it was to travel a hundred years ago. The forests still sheltered many beasts of prey, and the unsettled times gave license to the highwayman. In sparsely populated districts, the blazing of trees was often the traveller's only guide. Not seldom would night overtake him when far from human habitation ; and cut off from the accommodations of a wayside tavern, or the comforts of some hospitable roof, he would be obliged to bivouac in the forest, with his trusty horse for his only companion, and

the clouds for his only canopy. In going between distant parts of the country, within the limits of military occupation, permits were generally desirable, and sometimes necessary.

At this time, the common road was of course the only public highway. Railroads were still far in the future, and in 1777 the first canal only was building. This was in Virginia from Waltham to Richmond, a distance of seven miles, with the object of furnishing access to a coal mine. There was one trunk road from Boston, closely following the coast to the mouth of the Kennebec ; another into New Hampshire, and so on into Canada ; another to Providence ; and another to New York, connecting the towns of Springfield, Hartford, and New Haven, and joined at the latter point by one which skirted the shore of the Sound from as far east as the mouth of Narragansett Bay. From New York there were two roads northward, following the two sides of the Hudson River as far as Albany, one continuing thence to Lake George, the other diverging to the Mohawk Valley. Southward, a road crossed New Jersey to the Delaware River, and thence to Philadelphia, and the regions beyond.

Over these roads the only public conveyance was by stage-coach. The fast coach between New York and Philadelphia, known as the "Flying Machine," made the journey in two days. From Philadelphia to Baltimore it was a five days' journey by similar conveyance. A journey from Boston to Philadelphia was something to be spoken of with an exclamation point. There was a weekly stage between Boston and Portsmouth, and another from Boston to Newburyport, this advertisement of which in the "Boston Gazette," of May 10, 1773, may interest the reader:—

EZRA LUNT

BEGS Leave to inform the Public, That he has lately purchas'd an Interest in the Newbury-Port Stage, which has been lately fix'd on a new Construc-tion, in which he intends to improve four Horfes, which he will drive himself.—Therefore he flatters himself that those Gentlemen and Ladies that will oblige him with their Custom, will find more Ease and Pleasure in their Passages to and from Boston, than they did heretofore. As said LUNT intends to observe Punctuality in his Business, therefore he begs that those Gentlemen and Ladies that intend to be his

Customers, would take Notice that he will wait on them for their Commands at his House in Newbury-Port, opposite the Rev. Mr. Parsons's Meeting House ; from whence he will set out on Monday every Week, at Seven o'Clock, and puts up at Mrs. Bean's, at the Sign of the Ship in King-Street, Boston ; where all Baggage, Bundles, &c. will be received and delivered as directed, and Passages engaged. All Favours will be gratefully acknowledged.

After the Revolution, a semi-weekly stage was established between New York and Boston, which made the trip in six days.

Many travellers, however, eschewed the public stage-coach, preferring their private vehicles, the saddle or the pillion. Occasionally the traveller, bound upon a long journey in chaise or sulky, would advertise for a companion.

Journeys between distant points upon the coast could of course be made by water. So Mr. Josiah Quincy, Jr., went from Boston to Charleston, S.C., in 1773, a voyage which took him twenty days. The Boston and Falmouth packet afforded communication every ten days between Massachusetts and Maine ; "the Publick's humble Servant," William

Holland, proprietor, advertising that the master of the packet, "in order to prevent the usual Trouble of Gentlemen and Ladies procuring them Stores will furnish good Liquors of all Sorts, and proper Attendance, at the common Prices in Taverns."

There were occasional packets between Boston and various ports at the South, and between Boston and the settlements upon the St. Lawrence. As for ocean travel, that of course was the most formidable of all. There were regular packets between Boston and New York and English ports; and six weeks was not an uncommon time for the voyage.

The difficulties and delays of travel were felt with special force in the conveyance of troops for the conduct of the war. With our remembrance of the great transports and immense rail-trains used in the late Rebellion, it is hard to conceive of the narrowness of the resources available in the Revolution.

The postal system was in an equally imperfect condition. In certain parts of the country there were no mails whatever, and to

a great extent letters were sent by private hand. As a consequence, the transmission of correspondence was exceedingly uncertain, and often provokingly delayed. In a degree it was entirely interrupted by the war. The London papers of Sept. 28, 1776, contained this notice from the general post-office : —

A Mail will be dispatched from hence on Wednesday next for New York, and also one for Charlestown ; after which there will be no regular Conveyance for Letters from the Office to North America ; — but whenever a Packet may be dispatched to any part of that Continent, proper Notice will be given.

On the other hand, read this notice from the “ Pennsylvania Gazette : ” —

GENERAL POST OFFICE.

PHILADELPHIA, *February 14th, 1775.*

It having been found very inconvenient to persons concerned in trade, that the mail from Philadelphia to New England sets out but once a fortnight during the winter season ; this is to give notice, that the New England mail will henceforth go once a week the year round ; when a correspondence may be carried on, and answers obtained to letters between Philadelphia and Boston in three weeks, which used in the winter to require six weeks.

By command of the postmaster general.

WILLIAM FRANKLIN, Comptroller.

William Franklin was a son of Benjamin Franklin. His notice bespeaks an enterprising and vigorous administration ; but it reads oddly by the side of the announcements of the new post line in 1876, running through between the same points in less than twenty-four hours.

The arrangements under which the mails were often carried are well set forth in the following advertisement from the "Continental Journal," of Dec. 25, 1777:—

William Shurtliff, Post-Rider.

LETTERS *directed to the army now at the southward, lodged at the publick houses, or places, hereafter mentioned, on THURSDAY the 8th day of January 1778, viz, at Col. Sprout's Middleborough: Capt. Nathaniel Little's, Kingston; Mr. Thomas Witherel's, Plymouth; Mr. Jonathan Parker's Plymton; Messrs. Porter's and White's Taunton; Mr. Samuel Lane's Norton; Gill's Printing Office and Lamb Tavern, Boston; Mr. Partridge's, Roxbury; Mr. Daniel Vose's and Mrs. Bent's Milton; Mrs. May's Stoughton; Mr. Randell, Stoughtonham; Mr. Mans, Wrentham, and at his House in Mansfield; will be carefully conveyed and a speedy Return made by the Publick's most humble Servant.*

WILLIAM SHURTLIFF.

N.B. *It will be expected that the postages be left with the letters ; and am very sorry to acquaint my Customers and others that I cannot afford to carry under Three Shillings per single Letter ; and if it be duly considered that the Season of the Year is bad, the Journey long, and expences on the Road so amazing great, I flatter myself I shall not be thought unreasonable.*

Without giving too much license to the imagination, we can easily picture to ourselves the country post-office of those days. We may find it at the village tavern, where once a week the passing stage-coach deposits the pouch which serves a common purpose for all the towns around. The letters for this office are leisurely removed by the post-master, and the others replaced to be carried on to further destinations ; and, as he lays the mail away in the single box or narrow drawer which can easily contain it all, he and the curious group of by-standers about him carefully scrutinize each letter as if to read its very soul, and make it the theme of gossip and remark until another week rolls round.

Letters meant something in those days.

Writing paper was often a very scarce commodity, postage was costly, and when people wrote at all they were likely to write long and well. We shall doubtless never see again such letters as have come down to us out of this past.

IV.

SOME GENERAL FEATURES OF CHARACTER AND LIFE.

THE most distinct coloring which different parts of the country wore in turn at the time of the Revolution was of course the military coloring. The highways were often full of marching men, the harbors of transports and vessels of war, the cities of garrisons; and fortifications and the signs of war met the eye in almost every direction. The stillness of the Sabbath was broken, and the privacy of homes invaded, by the inseparable accompaniments of the camp and the campaign. But all this impress could not obliterate the distinct features of the life of the period.

The population of the United States in 1776 was about three millions. The contrasts between the North and the South, though not so marked as they grew to be,

were yet striking ; almost as much so in the temper and habit of the people as in the physical aspects and the climate of the two sections. The leading traits of New England character and life were thus summed up by John Adams, in 1775 : * —

New England has, in many respects, the advantage of every other colony in America, and, indeed, of every other part of the world that I know any thing of.

1. The people are purer English blood ; less mixed with Scotch, Irish, Dutch, French, Danish, Swedish, &c., than any other ; and descended from Englishmen, too, who left Europe in purer times than the present, and less tainted with corruption than those they left behind them.

2. The institutions in New England for the support of religion, morals, and decency exceed any other ; obliging every parish to have a minister, and every person to go to meeting, &c.

3. The public institutions in New England for the education of youth, supporting colleges at the public expense, and obliging towns to maintain grammar schools, are not equaled, and never were, in any part of the world.

4. The division of our territory, that is, our counties, into townships ; empowering towns to assemble, choose officers, make laws, mend roads, and twenty

* Familiar Letters, pp. 120, 121.

other things, gives every man an opportunity of showing and improving that education which he received at college or at school, and makes knowledge and dexterity at public business common.

5. Our law for the distribution of intestate estates occasions a frequent division of landed property, and prevents monopolies of land.

In warmth and generosity of temperament, the people of the Middle and Southern Colonies perhaps surpassed their brethren in New England ; the arts of a stately and fashionable life were carried by them to a greater degree of perfection ; and there was an indulgence in expensive and luxurious tastes to a degree with which the sterner spirit of the Pilgrim and the Puritan could hardly sympathize. But such a disposition sought excesses which often settled into vices, and the general character of the people suffered in consequence. Many of the Southern planters lived in a state of real magnificence and splendor. The family mansion was often the centre of a little village of negro huts, and the proprietor ruled absolute over a considerable community. The landed aristocracy of Virginia and the Carolinas patterned their lives

largely after the English model, and strenuously preserved the line between the patrician and the plebeian. There were few more fertile and carefully finished regions than the farms of Eastern Pennsylvania; and the representative farmer of that State was often a man of intelligence and taste as well as of wealth, giving large place to the library in his comfortable abode, and finding time amidst the pursuits of the field for the pleasures and profits of the intellectual life.

The two great parties were the Whigs and the Tories, names which were first adopted about 1770 to distinguish the republicans and the loyalists of the Revolution. Party spirit ran high, and often degenerated into bitterness and hatred.

There was wealth; but there were few vast fortunes, measured by the standards of to-day. In all the country, there was probably not more than one man, perhaps not even one, who was worth a million of dollars. He was a rich man, in Boston or New York, who had his forty or fifty thousand pounds.

We must not think that our present times

are the worst which our country has seen. John Adams, writing from Philadelphia, in October, 1776, when and where Congress was in session, said to his wife :—

The spirit of venality you mention is the most dreadful and alarming enemy America has to oppose. It is as rapacious and insatiable as the grave. . . . This predominant avarice will ruin America, if she is ever ruined. If God Almighty does not interfere by His grace to control this universal idolatry to the mammon of unrighteousness, we shall be given up to the chastisement of His judgments. I am ashamed of the age I live in.

Unfortunately, venality was not the only vice of the times. There were many and grave departures from the standards, at least from those standards which are commonly accepted now. Intemperance and grosser immoralities were common, and had not the force of public sentiment to struggle with which has been raised up against them in recent times. Profaneness, which is now both unchristian and ungentlemanly, was at least hardly ungentlemanly then ; and the lottery system, which is now generally prohibited by

statute, had then the countenance of good citizens and even the sanction of the Congress. By a lottery, indeed, the Congress sought aid towards meeting the expenses of the war. Mob violence was a necessary feature of the times, and social scandals had their place as now upon the public record. We venture to reproduce from the "New England Chronicle," of April 25, 1776, the following "statement," which is an affecting one by reason of both its tenor and its syntax. We call the reader's special attention to the "brass kettle."

To the PRINTER

THE inhabitants of New-Boston, having observed in severel of your papers, a publication of William M'Neil of said town; setting forth, in a very erroneous and cruel manner, that his wife had wasted his substance, and had refused living with him at his lodgings; and he was still willing to receive her, and to treat her courteously and cordially; notwithstanding also, refuseth paying any debt, she may hereafter contract, some of which things are false, and the rest inhumane and cruel.

Therefore, the inhabitants in town-meeting assembled, unanimously voted their entire disapprobation, and contempt of the proceedings of said M'Neil,

respecting his wife, and beg leave to inform the public of the true state and circumstances of the case. Mrs. M'Neil, before she married her present husband, was a widow, and had under her care the estate of her children ; and Mr. M'Neil was a man of very little interest, and as little inclined to labour. He had three lots of land given him, in said town, for settling (each lot contained 50 acres) except a very trifle, which he paid for three cottages, which the proprietors built on said lots. The value of the land was then but trifling, for there were then but three families in the town. Before marriage, Mr. M'Neil borrowed money of Mrs. M'Neil, which belonged to her children, to pay his debts, which he was then involved in ; and also gave him the very shirt that he was married in ; and directly after marriage, was obliged to sell even the very curtains, from her bed, to pay for his board, which he also owed before marriage ; and the first summer after they were married, she tarried in Chester (where she formerly lived) and by her own frugality, prudence and industry, and by selling her brass kettle (which was hers also before marriage) she provided herself, her husband, and two boys, with provisions of all sorts for that summer (and the three last were at New-Boston, at the distance of better than 30 miles from her.) And since she removed to New-Boston, which is better than 20 years, she has reared a family of small children ; and by her continual assiduity, has brought his estate to what it now is ; which is not inconsiderable ; and he himself has been absent almost the whole of the time

(except in the winter, there was little or nothing to be done;) so that it appears in fact, that she has maintained him, herself, and family, almost entirely since they were unhappily joined. And now, instead of her forsaking him, he has forsaken her, and his family, and let out the farm to a stranger (upon terms which he denied their own son) and seems to request her to remove to a place (where all things considered) every body must judge unreasonable, as well as unjust, and cruel, which to avoid all reflections that we possibly can, and do the innocent justice we shall omit; and to make her case as deplorable, as possible, threatens to take from her all the necessaries of life, and requires her to do that, which (without breach of charity) we think we can assert, he himself in nowise wisheth and refuseth to leave to indifferent persons, to settle honourably that, which, by the tenor of his actions, he does not wish to be done honestly. And now having declared the truth, we submit it to the public, to judge his reasons for advertising his wife.

By order of the town.

WM. CLARK, *Town-Clerk.*
New-Boston, March 26, 1776.

There was a severity in public punishments which we of this day would hardly endure. The stocks, the pillory, and the whipping-post are too familiar to need detailed mention. One document in point we must make

room for, even though its date places it a little outside of the field we are especially viewing :* —

Strong Licker to Exses.

at a Cort holden at Farmington In hartford County Janerary the 13: 1762 presant Jared Lee Just peace for sd County whearas David Culver of Farmington In sd County was atached and brought befouer Jared Lee Just-peace to answer unto one sertin Complaint Givenin In the Name and behalf of our Lord the King by obadiah Andrus Constabel to the sd Jared Lee Just peace the Complainant saith that the sd Culver was In the hous of Jonathan Root In Southington on the 20 of october Last past and *Did ther Drink Strong licker to Exses* that he was Found Drunk In the Lane near Aaron websters and at his one plaes of abode being bereaved of the eues of *his Reason and understanding and Lims* the sd David Culver pleads Gilty In Cort theirfouer Find that the sd Culver shal pay as a fine to the town tresuar of this town the sum of 0—8—0 Lawfull mony as Fine and Coast allowed £0—3—6 mony whear of Execution Remains to be don £0—8—0 Fine Febuary the 6 1762 then Execution Granted on the 0—3—6 Cost the above judgment

Feb 22: 1762 then Execution
Returned satisfied

obadiah Andrus Constabel
of Farmington

* Sketches of Southington, p. 410.

Slavery, it should be borne in mind, existed generally throughout the States, though the agitation of emancipation had a place in the counsels which attended the foundation of the government. How strange it is to read to-day of the buying and selling of slaves in New England a hundred years ago, and to find in the Boston papers of that time advertisements of runaway negroes. The following document is probably one of the last of its kind : —

to all men to home these Presents come — greeting
know yea that I Josiah Campe of Milford in the
County of Newhaven in the State of Connecticut for
the consideration of Sixty Pounds Lawfull money Do
Sell make over and conforme unto Abraham Clark of
Milford in s'd county and state afores'd as my one
Proper Estate on negro Boy named Handow Coggs
thirteen yeaese and During s'd negroo naturall Life
and if said negroo Is set free within six yeaere from
this Date by the Laws of this state then I Josiah
Camp Do bind my Self my heirs Executor or adminis-
trator to Pay back to s'd Clark so much of s'd sum
as shall be judged that s'd negroo hase not earnt and
I Josiah Campe Do bind my Self my heirs executor or
administrator formerly by these Presents to warrent
and Defend s'd Clark from all Clame from aney Per-

son or Persons what so ever for s'd negroo whereunto I have Set my hand and sell this 30th Day of January Ad 1784.

JOSIAH CAMP.

In presents of witnesses

MICHAEL PIKE,

NATHANIEL TIBBALS.

Fashions changed a hundred years ago as they do now, and perhaps it would be impossible to give an exact picture of the costumes of different classes at any one given time. But, in general, it may be said that gentlemen wore small-clothes, knee-buckles, and buckled shoes ; coats broad-skirted, wide-cuffed, and lace-ruffled, and of brown, gray, claret, or other color ; long waistcoats with broad flaps over the pockets, cocked hats, and in many cases wigs and powdered hair. The small sword was a common article of full dress, while scarlet cloth and gold and silver lace, with showy buttons, were resorted to by patri- cians on important occasions. The ladies made up their silks and satins and brocades into sacques and petticoats, hooped and trailed, set off with ruffles, and variously pat- terned and bedecked, according to the style

of the hour. They spent much time upon their hair, and the arrangement of the head-dress for the great party or the grand ball was a very complicated operation. One of these grand wardrobes — one that actually figured at some of Martha Washington's receptions — has been thus recently described in public print, by a lady evidently fully capable of appreciating its beauties and peculiarities : —

The satin slip, as it was then called, or, as we should say, under-skirt, was white, but it is now of a rich cream color at night; in day-time it shows the discoloration of age. This slip is so narrow that it is a wonder how any woman ever walked with ease in it. Around the bottom is a simple row of very costly lace, of the kind known as Honiton. The over-dress is an India satin, Turkey red, as our ancestors had it. It is cut close to the form with a few gathers at the back, — a modern tie-back is nothing to it; the queer old waist terminates just below the bust. It is rather diamond-shaped than square in the neck, with a fall of white lace, with which also the skirt of the "Turkey" is trimmed. The shoes are most singular. It seems as if no woman ever could have walked in them, but the soles show that they have been worn. They are of white satin, with the toe part sharpened almost to a

point, while the heel is placed in the centre of the slipper ; the heel is about two inches high, and at the end resembles the stem of an inverted clay-pipe.

These, and like these, were of course the fashions of the fashionable people of the cities and of wealthy circles. The plain folks dressed in soberer styles. The soldiers of the Revolutionary army knew little of the splendors, or even of the neatness and comfort, of uniforms ; and it is one of the humors of our own time to say that the original ulster overcoat was invented at Valley Forge, consisting of a bed-blanket with holes to put the arms through, and a mule-halter for a belt.

Let it not be forgotten in this connection, that the Revolutionary soldier's musket was a fire-lock, and that he carried not cartridges, but powder in a horn hung by his side. The tinder-box had not yet been superseded by the match-box, and flint and steel did exclusive service in kindling spark and flame. As for other marks of the stage which society had reached, we refer the reader to three items from Mr. Trumbull's "new edition" of "the Pilgrim's Progress," as follows :—

1770 Buys a home-made *Wooden Clock*.

1774 Lights Boston streets with oil lamps;

1780 Buys an *Umbrillo* for Sundays; and whenever he shows it is laughed at for his effeminacy.

Of amusements there was little variety in the olden time. Some of the domestic industries were turned to good account for purposes of pastime; and the husking-match, the quilting-bee, and the apple-paring gave the young people ample opportunity for the play of pleasant feeling. The "raising" was made a half-holiday for the men of all the neighborhood. Fencing was a manly accomplishment, and had its teachers in the cities and large towns. The ladies gave coffee-parties of an afternoon; and a dinner-party of the elect was a very grand affair. An occasional concert enlivened the monotony of life, as thus:*

At *Concert Hall*, on Thursday the 22nd Instant, will be a grand CONCERT of VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC. First Violin by Mr. Morgan, Harpsichord by Mr. Propert. The first Act will conclude with the celebrated Highland Ladie Concerto; and by particular Desire will be Sung, the Favorite Song of Mongo, out of the Padlock.

* Boston Gazette, Monday, April 12, 1773.

Tickets to be had of the Printers, at the British Coffee House, and at Mr. Probert's Lodgings, at Half a Dollar each. To begin at Seven o'Clock.

No Money to be taken at the Door.

The first attempt at theatricals in Boston was made somewhere about 1750. It called out a law forbidding such amusements, and the town allowed no regular theatre until nearly the close of the century. That which the British maintained in Faneuil Hall in 1775 was, of course, a forced exception to the rule. In New York, the case was different, where, at the opening of the Revolution, the little theatre on John Street had been ministering to the public want since 1767. Of a performance on the 25th of January, 1777, Gaine's "Mercury" gives this account:—

January 26. — Last evening, the little theatre in John Street, in New York, was opened, with the celebrated burlesque entertainment of Tom Thumb, written by the late Mr. Fielding to ridicule the bathos of several dramatic pieces that at his time, to the disgrace of the British stage, had engrossed both the London theatres. The characters were performed by gentlemen of the navy and army. The spirit with which this favorite piece was supported by the per-

formers, proves their taste and strong conception of the humor. The performance convinces us that a good education and knowledge of polite life, are essentially necessary to constitute a good actor. The play was introduced by a prologue written and spoken by Captain Stanley. We have great pleasure in applauding this first effort of his infant muse, as replete with true poetic genius. The scenes painted by Captain De Lancey, have great merit, and would not disgrace a theatre, though under the management of a Garrick. The house was crowded with company, and the ladies made a brilliant appearance.

The John Street Theatre was an unsightly building, painted red, standing some distance back from the street, and approached from the sidewalk by a covered way. During the occupation of the city by the British, the theatrical company was stocked by inferior officers of the army and navy, who were glad to share the profits accruing from their performances, for the replenishment of their easily wasted purses.

The objections which the theatre still encounters in the minds of a considerable portion of the community were in the strongest possible force then.

Josiah Quincy, Jr., wrote of himself, on one occasion, as having been "much amused" by a performance which he witnessed at this John Street Theatre in 1773, but adds: "As a citizen and friend to the morals and happiness of society, I should strive hard against the admission, and much more the establishment, of a theatre in any State of which I was a member."

Another curious instance of the public sentiment of the time respecting the theatre, and not only that, but of the degree to which legislation undertook to regulate the conscience, is found in a vote of Congress passed on the 16th of October, 1778, as follows:—

Whereas frequenting play-houses and theatrical entertainments has a fatal tendency to divert the minds of the people from a due attention to the means necessary for the defence of their country and preservation of their liberties,

Resolved, That any person holding an office under the United States, who shall act, promote, encourage, or attend such play, shall be deemed unworthy to hold such office, and shall be accordingly dismissed.

In connection with the record of this vote,

in its issue of Nov. 2, 1778, the "New York Journal" relates the following pleasant incident : —

The theatre being open last evening, the Marquis de La Fayette being in company with his Excellency the President of Congress, asked him to accompany him to the play. The President politely excusing himself, the marquis pressed him to go. The President then informed the marquis that Congress having that day passed a resolution, recommending to the several States to enact laws for the suppression of theatrical amusements, he could not possibly do himself the honor of waiting upon him to the play. "Ah!" replied the marquis, "have Congress passed such a resolution? then I will not go to the play."

The social dance and the public ball seem, after all, to have been the popular diversion. The dancing-master had employment even in staid and proper Boston. Thus : * —

Dancing Academy.

THOMAS TURNER, begs leave to acquaint the Public, he has open'd a School opposite William Vaffall's, Esq: to teach the elegant Art of Dancing in the most improved Taste, viz. Minuets, Cotillions, Hornpipes and English Country Dances. — Those .

* The Boston Gazette, Monday, March 20, 1775.

Parents to whom it may be agreeable, to confer on him the Tutorage of their Children, may depend on such Care and Affiduity, as shall prove greatly to their Advantage. — Any Gentleman or Lady not inclining to attend the publick School, shall be waited on with Pleasure and Attention.

The public ball, with the graceful minuet and the stately contra-dance, seems to have been the favorite form of demonstration in honor of festive anniversary and distinguished guest. When on one occasion La Fayette was in Baltimore, on his way to the “front” at the South, a ball was tendered to him.

“Why so gloomy at a ball?” asked some belle of the evening, who had been struck with the soberness of the young French nobleman.

“I cannot enjoy the gayety of the scene,” was his reply, “while so many of the poor soldiers are without shirts and other necessities.”

“We will supply them,” was the impulsive reply of the assembled ladies, who met next day to make up clothing for their suffering defenders. In this and other ways, the mere

pleasure-seeking spirit of even those troublous times often met a just rebuke and was turned into wiser channels.

Many stories have come down, pleasantly illustrative of the patriotic sentiments that prevailed. Nothing was commoner than for children to be named after Washington, Hancock, the Adamses, and other of the Revolutionary leaders. On a Sunday in July, 1776, the Rev. Mr. Perry, of East Windsor, Conn., had the distinguishing privilege of baptizing a child by the name of "Independence," — not probably a solitary experience. But when about the same time a minister of Norwalk was called to baptize the child of a Mr. Edwards by the name of Thomas Gage, the neighborhood was aroused; and "one hundred and seventy young ladies formed themselves into a battalion, and with solemn ceremony appointed a general and other officers to lead them on. This petticoat army then marched in the greatest good order to pay their compliments to Thomas Gage, and present his mother with a fuit of tar and feathers;" * and

* New England Gazette, May 30, 1776.

only the courage and valor of the innocent baby's sire seem to have thwarted the purpose of the expedition.

Mr. Jacob Vredenburg, barber, of New York, received the formal thanks of the New York Sons of Liberty, "for his firm, spirited, and *patriotic* conduct in refusing to complete an operation vulgarly called SHAVING, which he had begun on the face of Captain John Croser, Commander of the 'Empress of Russia,' one of his Majesty's transports now lying in the river; but most fortunately and providentially was informed of the identity of the gentleman's person, when he had about half-finished the job."

V.

DOMESTIC CONCERNS.

IT must be remembered that life a hundred years ago was generally marked by great isolation. Outside of the few cities and leading towns, the population was never dense, and often just the opposite ; so that the house and home of the average family was in a measure shut up to itself. From the elegant mansions of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, to the rude log cabin of the settler in the backwoods, there was almost every variety of dwelling and infinite grade of establishment. Living not in communities, but separately, there was often a tendency to an elaborate completeness not called for in our time, when the refinements of science and the divisions of labor relieve the family from many of its old necessities. The average household must needs then keep itself up in a self-contained establishment. It killed its own pork and beef ; cured its own

hams ; raised its own poultry ; made its own butter and cheese ; dipped its own candles ; did its own baking, of course ; spun its own yarn ; wove more or less of its own cloth ; cut and made its own garments ; “ made and laid ” its own carpets, when it had any ; did much of its own tinkering ; often cobbled its own shoes ; doctored itself, except in critical cases ; instructed itself, up to a certain point ; amused itself with such things as it had : in short, centred its life about its home, and not about “ society.” All these necessities and habits consequently imparted to domestic scenes and experience a peculiar fulness and picturesqueness. Yet it was, after all, a very simple and easy life, unvexed by much of the form and fuss inseparable from “ modern conveniences.”

It would be pleasant to examine in detail a few out of the many grand establishments which were to be found in different parts of the country a hundred years ago. Not so frequent in New England, the central and southern portions of the country were yet full of them. The colonial governors often lived in almost princely state ; and the “ palaces ” of

Governor Dunmore of Virginia and Governor Tryon of North Carolina are conspicuous objects in the landscape. There was Sir William Johnston's "Hall," near the present village of Johnstown, N.Y., set down as the finest mansion in the province outside the city of New York, at the time of its erection in 1760, or thereabouts. And there were fine old manor-houses about Baltimore, through New Jersey, and along the Hudson, any one of which might detain us to our interest for an almost indefinite time. But it may be more to the reader's satisfaction to direct his attention to one of the average houses of the people and to the every-day life of an ordinary home.

Of architecture, let it still be remembered, there was little or none. The house was built simply and substantially, for use and not for display. The timbers were so large and so sound, that even the wear and tear of a hundred years have often left them unimpaired. Bricks were often imported from England. Windows were small, and the panes diminutive ; 6×8 , 7×9 , and 8×10 , being the common sizes of French window-

glass advertised for sale. The house was generally square, the walls of exceeding thickness ; the chimney rose massive and capacious in the centre ; the interior walls were panelled ; and the great oaken beams crossed the ceiling in plain sight. The centre of the house, and of the family life which it sheltered, was the open wood fire, which blazed cheerfully in the huge fire-place of the living-room. Stoves were unknown ; and no furnace sent its currents of over-heated air to hall and chamber. Cooking was done in "tin kitchens," or on turn-spits, placed before the fire, or in pots hung by links and hooks from the swinging crane, or in the great brick oven which the chimney-work included on one side. The floor was bare, save the home-made rug or two in which the frugal housewife utilized her woollen rags. The tallow dip cast its dim light over the low-browed room. The tall clock ticked away in the corner, and the spinning wheel and hand-loom added their buzz and racket to the sum of the domestic sounds. The day began early and ended early. The morning chores required prompt

attention ; and at night, after the armful of wood had been brought from the shed, and the pail of water from the well in the yard, there was little to be done, and bed had no competitors.

In one of our present New England papers,* a writer who calls herself "Kathleen," and whose memory carries her far back towards the times which we are reviewing, has given us this picture of the interior of an old-fashioned kitchen :—

It was a cheery, tidy room, with its open fire and numerous bake-kettles in and about it ; tall dresser, with the long rows of plates and platters, and rack of spoons, that I am sure were far above my reach. Skillet and warming-pan hung near the fire ; the one flat-iron, tea-pot, and various other utensils hung upon pins or spikes driven in the chimney. Articles of clothing decorated the poles over head, while upon the side of a beam hung the trusty Queen's arm. To complete the picture was the mistress of the mansion, a woman in short gown and petticoat, kerchief over her shoulders, and a cap whose wide frill half covered her face. . . . Think of a slight, delicate girl, of these days, hanging a huge kettle on the crane, preparatory

* The Vermont Watchman.

to cooking a dinner or boiling the clothes. An odd sight, I fancy, it would be to see us flourishing the long-handled shovel or oven-broom while heating the brick oven for one of those bakings of brown-bread, beans, puddings, and pies. I am afraid our food would sometimes be over-done while we were learning the amount of fuel requisite. When dinner was over, the floor nicely swept, — not with a light corn-broom, however, — imagine our finishing the day's work of spinning, or entering the loom and banging away for hours at a piece of checked flannel for winter wear, or some of those nice linen table-cloths that our grandmas used to make when they were girls like us. It seems to me that there was no place for delicate girls or invalids in those days.

Children had a somewhat different place in the old social economy from that which they enjoy to-day. They did their full share of the domestic work, and found their recreation in sports of very rude description. They looked up to, and not down upon, their parents; stood in wholesome awe of domestic law and authority; walked softly before the parish minister; and, in general, demeaned themselves in a way which would be one of the greatest of centennial curiosities, could it be reproduced in *fac-simile*. A visit from the

minister was the signal for a catechetical exercise, to which the young folks looked forward as their chief end. And on the Sabbath their natural and innocent activities encountered stern repression.

In the customs of courtship and marriage, there was much that was quaint, not to say amusing, when viewed in the light of the present day. Many anecdotes have come down very pleasantly illustrative of this phase of life and manners. Thus, it is related* of Gov. Matthew Griswold, of Connecticut, that, having fallen in love with his second cousin, Ursula Wolcott, he had neither the courage nor the resolution to declare himself, nor yet the skill to conceal the fact of his affection. The young lady, who seems to have returned his passion, was provoked by his procrastination. Meeting him at last on the stairs one day, she determined, if she could, to bring matters to a pass.

"What did you say, Cousin Matthew?" she asked.

"I did not say any thing," was his reply.

* Harper's Magazine, February, 1876, p. 323.

A few days after, meeting him again, she repeated the question in the same way, and got only a similar answer. Once again she met him, and asked: "What did you say, Cousin Matthew?" And once again he replied: "I did not say any thing." "It is time you did!" she then desperately responded; and so the ice was broken. The wedding followed in due time.

A story of similar spirit is on record of a young woman of Dr. Emmons's parish, who accepted an offer of marriage, on the one condition that her suitor should engage to attend the Quarterly Lecture.

Thus reads a marriage notice in the "New England Chronicle," of Aug. 8, 1776:—

MARRIED] at Portsmouth Mr. *Benjamin Dearborn*, Printer, to Mrs. *Lydia Hooper*; — a Lady highly qualified in every Respect for rendering the Marriage State agreeable and happy.

Would the reader like to see the wedding notice of John Hancock and Dorothy Quincy? Here it is as it appeared in the "New York Gazette," Sept. 4, 1775:—

This evening was married, at the feat of Thaddeus Burr, Esq., at Fairfield, Connecticut, by the Reverend

Mr. Elliot, the Hon. John Hancock, Esq., President of the Continental Congress, to Miss Dorothy Quincy, daughter of Edmund Quincy, Esq., of Boston. Florus informs us that "in the second Punic war, when Hannibal besieged Rome and was very near making himself master of it, a field upon which part of his army lay, was offered for sale, and was immediately purchased by a Roman, in a strong assurance that the Roman valor and courage would soon raise the siege." Equal to the conduct of that illustrious citizen was the marriage of the Honorable John Hancock, Esq., who with his amiable lady, has paid as great a compliment to *American* valor, and discovered equal patriotism, by marrying now while all the colonies are as much convulsed as Rome when Hannibal was at her gates.

Not only weddings, but births, deaths, and even baptisms, were taken account of in the public press, and after a fashion which looks similarly strange. Here is a specimen announcement from the "Boston Gazette," Feb. 22, 1773:—

Burials in the Town of Boston since our last, Ten Whites, one Black.

Baptiz'd in the several Churches Five.

Funerals touched weddings at the point of feasting, and were often very expensive, showy,

and pompous occasions. In some parts of the country, especially among the Dutch of Long Island and New York, it was the custom for a young man to lay by his earnings after coming of age, until a sufficient sum had accumulated to provide for him a "respectable" funeral when he should come to die. Oftentimes the young burgher would reserve half of the portion of wine which he had liberally laid in for his marriage, to be used at the funeral of himself or his wife. Special invitations were sent out for funerals as for parties. The clergymen, pall-bearers, and physicians attending, were provided with scarfs and gloves, and sometimes each with a mourning ring; while the feast which followed the interment at the house of the relatives of the deceased, elaborate with cold roast meats, wines, liquors, and pipes, was not unfrequently an occasion of coarse excesses, sometimes descending into hilarious and noisy demonstrations. A "respectable" funeral of this description might cost perhaps a thousand dollars; while the funeral of the first wife of Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer is

said to have cost not less than twenty thousand dollars.

We cannot give a better idea of what constituted a modest household and personal outfit in New England at this time than by copying an inventory, showing the division of a personal estate between the several members of a certain New Hampshire family. The original document from which it is printed is one the like of which could probably be drawn out from a great many chests of old papers ; but just because it is commonplace is it all the more useful for our purpose. It is here printed *verbatim*.

WEARING APPAREL

JOSEPH

Blew Great coat	£1.	10
blk. lasting Jacket		4. 6
baize jacot		2. 6
— * breeches & buckles		2.
Hatts, furr		10
shirt		2
shoes		1
Wigg		4
		<hr/>
	£2.	12. 4

* The word is illegible in the manuscript.

JACOB

Baize Gown	£.	10.
Camblet Coat		10
blk. Jacoat		15
blk. lasting breeches		2.
Shirt		2.
Shirt		1. 6
2 caps		1. 6
Hatt		2.
pr. Stockings		2 6
sleeve buttons		2
pr. mitts		8
Thimble		
Gloves		1

£2 12 4

NATHANIEL

old great Coat	£.	8
Blew coat		18
brown Jacoat		9
brown briches		5
shirt		2
shirt		1 6
lining Handchif		1 2
Silk Handchif		2.
pr. Stockings		2. 6
pr. blk. Hose		1
Snuff Box		2
wig		1
towards Gloves		1

£2 12 4

So much for the division of the wardrobe among the three sons. Now for the similar division of the household furniture between the three daughters :

BATHSHEBA

Bedstead	£	5
Chest		6
wig box		6
Candle stick		6
„ „		2½
Bed Tick	1	2
Blanket	5	
Coverlid	6	
1 sheet	6	8
2 pillow cases	2	
1 Spoon		3½
1 Knife & fork		8
chair Banister	3	
cash in Will	12	

£2. 9

HANNAH

1 Bed	£1.	1	0
Great Chair		4	
1 sheet		3	
Knife & fork			8
& Spoon			3½

£1. 8 11½

REBECCA

Bed cord	£0	2	8
fire shovel & tongs		3	
Hand Irons		16	1½
Bellows		1	8
2 pillows		6	
1 Bolster		1	6
1 Sheat		6	8
1 pr. Pillow cases		2	
3 pint Bason		2	
1 Knife & fork			8
a spoon			3½
			<hr/>
	£2	2	7½

Acct. of articles not divided.

a pair of knee buckels.

a pair of Garters.

a book The Hosannahs of Children.

a Funeral Sermon.

People “lived well” a hundred years ago, their generally simple tastes being capable of easy and abundant satisfaction. Succotash was a favorite common food; and the bill of fare of a gentleman’s dinner in Falmouth in 1774, recorded by John Adams, included these items: “Salt-fish and all its apparatus, roast chickens, bacon, pease, as fine a salad as

ever was made, and a rich meat pie. Tarts and custards, etc., good wine and as good punch as ever you made." There were times and places, it is true, when and where a scarcity of good provisions was felt; and there was an especial pinch in the commodity of tea, of which many patriotic people denied themselves altogether, and others bought only sparingly at large prices. "We are all learning economy," wrote Franklin from Philadelphia in 1775. "Instead of half-a-dozen courses to dinner, gentlemen content themselves with two."

Prices generally felt the pressure of the times; and their attempted regulation by authority was only partially successful. An item suggestive on this point is the following from the "Essex Gazette" of April 25—May 2, 1775:—

ASSIZE OF BREAD IN SALEM, March 1, 1775.

2-3ds, of a Penny white loaf . . .	0 lb. 4 oz. 10 d.
a Penny white Loaf	0 6 15
a Two-penny ditto.	0 13 14
A Four-penny ditto	1 11 12

In the town records of Farmington, Conn., under date of Jan. 30, 1775, appears this minute of a Committee of Inspection previously appointed : * —

Voted that Mr. James Persaville, Merchant of this Town, having bought and sold Goods higher than usual by his own Confession, has been guilty of a violation of ye Association.

That this Committee do upon a Confession made, and promise of Amendment by said Percival for his Fault in purchasing and selling sundry articles of English Goods at higher prices than is consistent with ye true sense of ye Association, and upon his promising as far as he can to deposit ye surplussage of ye money over and above what they would have amounted to if sold at his usual Prices into ye Hands of such Person or Persons as shall by this Committee be appointed to receive ye same to be appropriated to ye use of ye Poor of ye Town of Boston, and upon such Confession and Retraction being made public restore sd Percival to full and compleat Charity.

That if it has already or in time to come may happen that any Person or Persons, Inhabitants of any of ye neighbouring Towns have refused or shall refuse to accede to or in any Way or Manner violate ye doings of ye Continental Congress, it shall be ye duty of ye Inhabitants of this Town to withdraw all kinds of

* History of Southington, p. 525.

connexion from such Person or Persons, and as Members of this Committee we will use our best Endeavours that ye Inhabitants punctually adhere to this vote and practice accordingly.

That it is highly important that all Venders of Goods and Merchandize they have either disposed of since ye 1st day of December 1773, or have now on hand, with their Number or other marks whereby said articles or any of them have been usually rank'd or distinguished, together with ye Prices they have sold them at for ready Pay and their usual Advance for Credit since 1st day of December 1773, or do now sell them, and also ye Names of ye Persons any of such Goods or Merchandize have been purchased of since ye first day of December, 1774, to ye Intent they may be in the most effectual Manner prevented selling such Goods or Merchandize hereafter at higher Prices than they have been accustomed to since ye above mentioned 1st day of December 1773 Contrary to ye Association of ye Continental Congress, or if they should that they may be detected and brought to condign Punishment.

That all Venders of Goods or Merchandize within this Town shall hereafter each for himself render a particular Account to three or more of this Committee being present to take such Account of every article of such Goods or Merchandize as shall be purchased by them and brought into this Town with their numbers or other Marks of Distinction, and likewise of ye Place where and ye Persons of whose said Goods or

Merchandize were purchased before any of ye Packages thereof are broken, and it is expected ye Purchaser upon ye Receipt of any such Goods or Merchandize will notify three or more as aforesaid of this Committee to be present to take such account of ye true Intent and Meaning of this Vote.

In Boston, under date of April 14, 1777, the Selectmen and Committee of Correspondence of the town, acting under legislative authority, published the following schedule of prices : * —

COD Fish and Haddock, guts and gills in, One Penny-out, Two Pence per Pound.

Tom Cod and Flounders, One Penny half-penny per Pound. Hallaboat Three Pence per lb. Eels skin'd and gutted, Three Pence per Pound.

Carting Wood from Wharves to the Buyer's House, including every expence but the First Cost, in consideration of the Wharfingers retailing in small Quantities, Five Shillings per Cord.

Trucking a single Hogheads, Two Shillings. Tierces in proportion.

Trucking Barrels, a Load, 3 to a Load, Four Shillings.

Carting or Trucking Merchandize, not included in Casks, Four Shillings per Ton, and in proportion for a Quarter of a Ton.

* The New England Chronicle.

Men's best made Calf-skin Shoes not to exceed Twelve Shillings a Pair.

Boy's ditto in a just proportion.

Women's Leather Shoes, Six Shillings per Pair.

Women's Cloth Shoes, Eight Shillings per Pair.

Men's best Beaver Hats, Forty-eight Shillings a Piece.

Soap, good Merchantable, deliver'd at the House of the Purchaser, Twenty Shillings per Barrel and one Penny three Farthings per single Pound.

Tallow dip'd Candles, Nine Pence per the Box and Ten Pence a single Pound.

Salt and Meadow Hay, Two Shillings per Hundred.

Rice, Thirty Shillings per Hundred, Eight and Six Pence per Quarter, and Four Pence per Pound.

Loaf Sugar, One Shilling and Six Pence per the Quantity or single Loaf.

Vinegar, One Shilling per Gallon.

Onions, Eight Pence per Half Peck, Fourteen Pence per Peck, Two Shillings per Half Bushel, and Four Shillings per Bushel.

Carrots, Four Pence per Half Peck, Seven Pence per Peck, One Shilling per Half Bushel, and Two Shillings per Bushel. •

Parfnips, Eight Pence per Half Peck, Fourteen Pence per Peck, Two Shillings per Half Bushel, and Four Shillings per Bushel.

Turnips, Three Pence per Half Peck, Five Pence per Peck, Nine Pence per Half Bushel, and One Shilling and Six Pence per Bushel.

Potatoes, Four Pence per Half Peck, Seven Pence per Peck, One Shilling per Half Bushel, and Two Shillings per Bushel.

Eggs, Nine Pence per Dozen.

Merchantable Hoghead Hoops to be survey'd, Fourteen Foot long, at Twelve Shillings per Hundred.

Ditto shorter than Eleven Foot, Nine Shillings ; Twelve Foot, Ten Shillings.

Ditto Barrel Hoops to be survey'd, Nine Foot long, Six Shillings per Hundred.

Ditto shorter than Nine Foot in proportion.

Red Oak Hoghead Staves, Three Pounds per Thousand.

White Oak Ditto, Six Pounds per Thousand.

Red Oak Barrel Staves, One Pound Eight Shillings per Thousand.

Clear Try'd Hogs Fat, Six Pence for any Quantity and Eight Pence by the single Pound.

Merchantable Boards by Retail, Three Pounds per Thousand.

Clear season'd Boards, Three Pounds Twelve Shillings per Thousand.

Good Cyder clear drawn from the Lees, with the Barrel, Twenty Shillings, and without Seventeen Shillings.

All Cord Wood from the Country, besides Oak and Walnut, to the Buyer Home, Twenty-six Shillings per Cord.

In Philadelphia, in August of the same year,

prices were thus reported by John Adams in one of his letters to his wife : * —

“Prices current, Four pounds a week for board, besides finding your own washing, shaving, candles, liquors, pipes, tobacco, wood, etc. Thirty shillings a week for a servant. It ought to be thirty shillings for a gentleman and four pounds for the servant, because he generally eats twice as much and makes twice as much trouble. Shoes, five dollars a pair. Salt, twenty-seven dollars a bushel. Butter, ten shillings a pound. Punch, twenty shillings a bowl.”

The money system of the country, it should be remembered, was in a mixed condition. Not only was the English currency in use, but the colonies, and, later, the Continental Congress, had issued their paper notes of divers sorts. Fractional parts of a dollar were in circulation then as now. To a considerable extent all this paper money was counterfeited by the enemy, with the object of helping forward the work of subjugation, and it further suffered constant and enormous depreciation ; how great may appear from the following notice in the “New York Gazette,” of October 28 : —

* Familiar Letters, p. 301.

Wanted by a gentleman fond of curiosities, who is shortly going to England, a parcel of Congress Notes, with which he intends to paper some rooms. Those who wish to make something of their stock in that commodity, shall, if they are clean and fit for the purpose, receive at the rate of one guinea per thousand for all they can bring before the expiration of the present month. Inquire of the printer. N. B. — It is expected they will be much lower.

VI.

EDUCATION.

AT hardly any point does the America of 1776 present a stronger contrast to the America of 1876, than in respect to schools and education. There were colleges then, it is true; but only nine of them, and only five that could be said to be in established and successful operation. The academies and higher seminaries with which the land is now so thickly studded were then almost absolutely unknown. The necessity for schools preparatory to the college course had not begun to be felt, and of professional schools there was a corresponding scarcity. There was, however, a medical school in successful operation in Philadelphia, the eminent Dr. Benjamin Rush being one of its three professors. For the higher education of women almost no facilities existed. There was even

a prejudice against it, which had yet to be dispelled.

The nine colleges above alluded to, with the dates of their foundation, were as follows :—

Harvard, Cambridge, Mass.	1638
William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va. . . .	1693
Yale, New Haven, Conn.	1700
College of New Jersey, Princeton	1748
Columbia, New York.	1754
Brown University, Providence, R.I. . . .	1765
Dartmouth, Hanover, N.H.	1770
Rutgers, New Brunswick, N.J.	1771
Hampden Sidney, Hampden Sidney, Va. . .	1775

Of these nine, the only five that were at this time really worthy of their name, as being contributive to the intellectual life of the people, were Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, Princeton, and Columbia. The foundations of Dartmouth had just been laid in the midst of the woods, and amongst a pioneer population ; with log houses for its first buildings, and four miles of desolate travel to the nearest human habitation. Yet in 1773 Dartmouth counted its six graduates, and conferred

nineteen honorary degrees ! A graphic picture of what college life meant and cost under these circumstances is supplied in the following paragraph of reminiscence, the reader merely needing to know in explanation that the mill referred to was one of the necessary appurtenances of this "college" in the woods : * —

The mill man, Osborn, wrote to Joseph Vaill, a young man of Litchfield, to come up to Hanover "to obtain a college education, by helping him tend the mills ;" and Mr. Vaill tells us how he answered the call. He says he "started September 28, 1772, with three others, with packs on their backs, with an axe and one horse, to find their way, as best they might, 180 miles to the college saw-mill. We found the mills down in the woods, where the howling of wild beasts and the plaintive notes of the owl added to the gloominess of the night season. We made ourselves bunks and filled them with straw, did our own cooking and washing," and, if you can believe it, they took in a boarder ! The price paid for sawing and sticking boards was one dollar a thousand, and half the toll for grinding. Upon this income we were ourselves to live and offset the board of Sophomore Osborn, one of the brothers, who became our teacher to fit us for college, and whose compensation was cancelled by his

* The First Half Century of Dartmouth College, pp. 31, 32.

boarding with us. We were two years fitting. One of our number died and another returned home ; but two others came on and filled their places, "so that the mill work, the boarding-house, and Sophomore Osborn's support should not fail. Mr. Vaill entered college, and says he studied in his cold home with pine knots for light, walked four miles a day to his recitations, facing a north-west wind, and often breaking his own path in the new snows. It is marvellous I did not freeze, as I was thinly clad."

Humorous as is the thought of a shower of honorary degrees bursting upon such a landscape, there appears, perhaps by contrast, a singular stateliness and propriety in a corresponding act of "old " Harvard, then entitled to that epithet by reason of its already honorable age of nearly one hundred and forty years ; which college, on the third day of April, 1776, promulgated in sonorous Latin the decree of its Corporation, whereby General George Washington, on the very day before his departure from Cambridge to New York, was invested with its "highest honor ;" namely, the degree of Doctor of Laws. The document was published in full, both in Latin and in English, in the leading columns of the "New

England Chronicle," of April 25, following; from a stained and musty copy of which it is here reproduced to the eye of the curious and reverent reader :—

THE CORPORATION of HARVARD COLLEGE
in Cambridge, in New England, to all the Faithful
in Christ, to whom these Presents shall come,
GREETING.

WHEREAS Academical Degrees were originally instituted for this Purpose That Men, eminent for Knowledge, Wisdom and Virtue, who have highly merited of the Republick of Letters and the Commonwealth, should be rewarded with the Honor of these Laurels ; there is the greatest Propriety in Conferring such Honor on that very illustrious Gentleman, GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq ; the accomplished General of the Confederated Colonies in America ; whose Knowledge and patriotic Ardor are manifest to all : Who, for his distinguished Virtue, both Civil and Military, in the first Place, being elected by the Suffrages of the Virginians, one of their Delegates, exerted himself with Fidelity and singular Wisdom in the celebrated *Congress of America*, for the Defence of Liberty, when in the utmost Danger of being for ever lost, and for the Salvation of his Country ; and then, at the earnest Request of that Grand Council of Patriots, without Hesitation, left all the Pleasures of

his delightful Seat in Virginia, and the Affairs of his own Estate, that through all the Fatigues and Dangers of a Camp, without accepting any Reward, he might deliver *New England* from the unjust and cruel Arms of Britain, and defend the other Colonies ; and Who, by the most signal Smiles of Divine Providence on his Military Operations, drove the Fleet and Troops of the Enemy with disgraceful Precipitation from the Town of Boston, which for eleven Months had been shut up, fortified, and defended by a Garrison of above seven Thousand Regulars ; so that the Inhabitants, who suffered a great Variety of Hardships and Cruelties while under the Power of their Oppressors, now rejoice in their Deliverance, the neighbouring Towns are freed from the Tumults of Arms, and our University has the agreeable Prospect of being restored to its antient Seat.

Know ye therefore, that We, the President and Fellows of Harvard College in Cambridge, (with the Consent of the Honoured and Reverend Overseers of our Academy) have constituted and created the afore-said Gentleman, GEORGE WASHINGTON, who merits the highest HONOR, DOCTOR of LAWS, the Law of Nature and Nations, and the Civil Law ; and have given and granted him at the same Time all Rights, Privileges, and Honors to the said Degree pertaining.

In Testimony whereof, We have affixed the common Seal of our University to these Letters, and subscribed them with our Hand writing this Third Day of

April in the Year of our Lord one Thoufand feven Hundred Seventy-fix.

[Sigillum
Commune]

SAMUEL LANGDON, S.T.D. Praefes.

NATHANIEL APPLETON, S.T.D.

JOHANNES WINTHROP, Mat. et Phil. P. } Socii.

ANDREAS ELIOT, S.T.D. (Hol. L L.D.

SAML. COOPER, S.T.D.

JOHANNES WADSWORTH, Log. et Eth. Pre. The-
faurius.

All the colleges suffered more or less during the Revolution. Harvard was turned out of its quarters in Cambridge in 1775, and obliged to adjourn temporarily to Concord. Yale met with corresponding interruptions, and held no public commencements from 1777 to 1781. Columbia's solitary building was appropriated by the British as a military hospital; and the small but valuable library was dispersed, and in part destroyed, but few of the books ever finding their way back. There were no graduates from 1776 to 1784. Princeton suffered as much as either of the others, not alone in the loss of her resources, but in the interruption of academical exer-

cises; the buildings having been used as barracks by the British. In the Battle of Princeton, Nassau Hall was occupied and defended by them until they were driven out by the Americans.

The College of William and Mary was the wealthiest of the sisterhood up to the time of the Revolution; but its resources were then greatly crippled. Here, in 1775, originated the fraternity of the Phi Beta Kappa; and hence was derived the chapter at Harvard. The old records are still in existence.

An examination of the Continental Congress, composed as it was of leading men of all the Colonies, affords some light upon the topic of popular education at that period. The Congress, whose sessions extended through some ten years, comprised in all some three hundred and fifty members, of whom about one-third were graduates of colleges. A recent writer in one of the most intelligent and accurate of American journals* has taken pains to collect and array a paragraph of important statistics upon this

* New York Evening Post, January, 1876.

subject, which we take leave to insert here, though without verification, that, however, being hardly necessary for our present purpose :

There were in the Continental Congress during its existence 350 members ; of these 118, or about one-third of the whole, were graduates from colleges. Of these, twenty-eight were graduated from the College of New Jersey in Princeton, twenty-three from Harvard, twenty-three from Yale, eleven from William and Mary, eight from the University of Pennsylvania, four from Columbia College, one from Brown University, and one from Rutgers College, and twenty-one were educated in foreign universities. These 118 graduates were distributed in the Colonies as follows : New Hampshire had four college graduates among her delegates, three of whom were graduated from Harvard, and one from Princeton ; Massachusetts had seventeen, sixteen of whom were from Harvard and one from Yale ; Rhode Island had four graduates, — two from Princeton, one from Harvard, and one from Brown University ; Connecticut had eighteen graduates, — thirteen from Yale, three from Princeton, and two from Harvard. New York, out of her large delegation, had but eight graduates, — four from Columbia, and four from Yale. New Jersey had eleven graduates, — eight from Princeton, one from Yale, and one from Rutgers. Pennsylvania had thirteen graduates, — four from Princeton, four from the University of Penn-

sylvania, one from Yale, and four educated in foreign parts. Delaware had two graduates, both from Princeton. Maryland had seven, — three from Princeton, two from the University of Pennsylvania, one from William and Mary, and one educated in foreign parts. Virginia had nineteen graduates, — ten from William and Mary, two from Princeton, and eight educated in foreign parts. North Carolina had four graduates, — two from the University of Pennsylvania, one from Harvard, and one educated in foreign parts. South Carolina had seven graduates, — two from Princeton, and five educated in foreign parts. Georgia had five graduates, — three from Yale, one from Princeton, and one educated in foreign parts. Thus it appears that Princeton had representatives from ten of the Colonies ; Yale, from six ; Harvard, from five ; the University of Pennsylvania, from three ; William and Mary, from two ; and Columbia, Brown, and Rutgers, from one each. Fifty-six delegates signed the Declaration of Independence. Of these twenty-eight, or just one-half, were college graduates.

If it may be said that the Continental Congress was as fairly a representative body in respect to intelligence and culture as the forty-fourth Congress, then it must be owned that the people of 1776 were a very intelligent and cultivated people, and turned such school and college advantages as they enjoyed to good account.

Professional schools, as has before been said, were almost unknown. The candidate for the honors of the law, the dignities of the ministry, and, generally speaking, for the toils of medical practice, was obliged to pursue his studies under private teachers. The theological seminaries of the time were simply families of students grouped in the households of famous and popular divines. One of the most celebrated of these came to be that of Rev. Dr. Emmons, of Franklin, which however had only made its beginning in one of the years of the Revolution.

As to schools of the common grade, the New England Colonies were in obvious advance of the others ; but the system at its best was such that occasion offered for such public notices as this, for example : * —

A MORNING SCHOOL.

YOUNG Ladies, or young Gentlemen, who have a Mind to be acquainted with the French Language ; to be perfected in reading, speaking or writing the English ; — to be introduced to, or Completed in their Improvements, in Arithmetic, Penmanship, or Epistolary

* New England Chronicle, July 18, 1776.

Writing, may be properly assisted in pursuing either of these Attainments, from 5 to 7 o'Clock in the Morning, at the School on Court Square, opposite the East Door of the State House ; where Constant Attendance will be given, and the most useful Branches of Common Education taught in the best approved Manner.

“ On Morning Wings, how active springs the Mind ! ”

VII.

LITERATURE.

THE period of the Revolution was not greatly productive in literature, except of that special sort to which such a conflict and the peculiar experiences attendant upon it would naturally give rise. Patriotism held the pen, and politics and the incidents of the war furnished the themes. The people found their solid reading in such works of previous generations and other lands as were at hand, and the times witnessed little more than the seed-sowing of future harvests.

And yet there is a distinct literary tint in the many-colored picture of our country a hundred years ago.

In the first place, many of the distinguished men who figure on other accounts in the scenes before us deserve honorable mention for their services in literature: Washington and Jefferson, by their letters ; the Adamses,

Otis, and Dickinson, by their pamphlets and political essays ; Drs. Witherspoon, Stiles, and Mayhew, by their published sermons and addresses ; and, notably, Rev. Dr. Emmons, by his "more than 7,000 copies of nearly 200 sermons." The state papers of the period, especially of the years immediately preceding actual hostilities, have never been surpassed before or since, and can never cease to challenge admiration. Francis Hopkinson of Philadelphia, who was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, has also this title to fame, that he was the author of "The Battle of the Kegs," a humorous ballad descriptive of an actual incident, and one of the best-known literary fruits of the Revolution. He distinguished himself by other writings, chiefly of a politico-satirical character, and achieved great popularity in his day. Hopkinson was brother-in-law to Rev. Jacob Duché, the patriotic chaplain to the Congress, who himself published some sermons, pamphlets, and other small works. Ethan Allen was author as well as soldier, having written a telling account of his captivity in Canada.

Charles Thompson, for many years the secretary of the Continental Congress, was a man of literary tastes and some literary achievements; the chief of the latter being a translation of the whole Bible, which, however, did not appear until after the close of the war.

Mr. Thompson had for a private pupil William Bartram, a son of John Bartram, and now a young man of about twenty-five, destined to do some useful work as a botanical investigator and author. While the war was in progress, he was in the South, gathering the materials for a volume on the natural features of that part of the country, which appeared in 1791. John Bartram, the father, was the author of "A Description of East Florida" (1766), but was just laying aside his pen at a good old age. A pretentious work on much the same subject, which appeared at New York in 1775, was the first volume of a "Natural History of East and West Florida," by one Bernard Romans. It was illustrated with copperplates and maps. The author followed it three years later with the first volume of a work on the Netherlands, translated

from Dutch historians and dedicated to Jonathan Trumbull. But in neither case did he go further than a first volume.

The ballad literature of the Revolution formed a distinct school, and was the most original product of the mind and circumstances of the period. These ballads found their way in great numbers to the public press, generally from anonymous writers, and were almost universally pointed with a political purpose. Every important event was celebrated in this way, and notable characters were applauded or satirized as they deserved. The collections of Du Simitière and Freneau preserve the most characteristic of these extemporaneous effusions, and throw no little light upon the times. Freneau was himself one of the openly avowed and most meritorious of these Revolutionary singers. He was a young New-Yorker, of Huguenot descent; and of his writings, both in prose and verse, several collections were published. Du Simitière, who was also of French extraction, but living in Philadelphia, was one of the antiquaries of his day, and exercised his lit-

erary tastes by commencing as early as 1776 a collection of materials for a history of the war, carefully cutting from the newspapers all news and other items relating to the progress of events, and pasting them upon sheets of paper, under a proper system of classification.

Freneau was born in 1752, which was also the birth-year of a number of other men who, in 1776, were beginning to make a mark in literature. Among these were Alexander Graydon, who carefully stored up his reminiscences of the Revolution for a volume of "Memoirs," which he published in 1811; Gouverneur Morris, author of the essays by "An American," published in the "Pennsylvania Packet," in 1780; Rev. William Linn, of New York, who published several volumes of eloquent discourses; Mrs. Ann Eliza Bleecker, whose name is borne by a number of poems and tales; and Rev. Timothy Dwight, who became the president of Yale College, and was the author of the well-known hymn, "I love thy kingdom, Lord."

The name of Dwight, who now, at a little

past the age of twenty, was just finishing his poem, "The Conquest of Canaan," suggests another interesting coincidence, and brings to view another circle of illustrious writers. Dwight was a fellow, at Yale College, of David Humphreys, Joel Barlow, and John Trumbull, the four being friends and working much together. Humphreys came to wield a ready pen, which he turned to good account, first in patriotic pleasantries, and later in the writing of a "Life of General Putnam," which was one of the earliest of essays in American biography. Barlow had the honor of seeing his Commencement poem, "The Prophet of Peace," printed the same year of its delivery, when he was but twenty-three; but the greater and better part of his literary work, chiefly poetry, belongs to a later period.

Trumbull's intellectual life and literary history are exceptionally interesting; his poem, "M'Fingal," being perhaps the most striking of the literary remains of the Revolution. Trumbull, who was born in Watertown, Conn., in 1750, passed his examination for admission

to Yale before he was eight years old, sitting on that occasion for the purpose in the lap of Dr. Emmons ; but happily he did not begin his course till six years later, which brought him into the notable company above mentioned. After leaving Yale, he studied law with John Adams in Boston, and before he was twenty-five had written a political poem of some sixty or seventy stanzas, called "An Elegy on the Times." His "M'Fingal," which was begun in 1774 and finished in 1782, was undertaken at the instance of some of his political friends, as a piece of public service ; and, to take his own description of it, aimed to give a "general account of the American contest, with a particular description of the character and manners of the times, interspersed with anecdotes, which no history could probably record or display ; and, with as much impartiality as possible, satirize the follies and extravagances of my [his] countrymen as well as of their enemies." The poem had a great run, as such a burlesque would at such a period. More than thirty editions of it were printed, in all possible forms ; and it went everywhere.

In 1775-76 there was published in Philadelphia, by one Robert Aitkin, a Scotchman, a monthly periodical, called "The Pennsylvania Magazine, or American Monthly Museum." Thomas Paine was its editor, on a salary of £25 a year; and among its contributors were President Witherspoon and Francis Hopkinson. It was Paine's success at this post which drew from Dr. Benjamin Rush suggestions that led to his celebrated pamphlet, "Common Sense." Paine was the author not only of "Common Sense," probably the most famous and influential pamphlet in American history, but of a series of political tracts, under the general title of "The Crisis," eighteen of which appeared between 1776 and 1783. Philadelphia had also a "United States Magazine," of which Hugh Henry Brackenridge was editor. Brackenridge was a graduate of Princeton in the class of 1771; and his commencement poem, on "The Rising Glory of America," achieved the distinction of print the year following its delivery. He also wrote a drama, entitled "Bunker's Hill," which was published in 1776.

To the Revolutionary period belong the familiar lines —

“ No pent-up Utica contracts your pow’rs,
But the whole boundless continent is yours ! ”

which occur in the epilogue to a tragedy, “Cato,” written in 1778 by Jonathan M. Sewall, a lawyer of Portsmouth, N.H. At Dover, N.H., Dr. Jeremy Belknap was in the midst of his twenty years’ pastorate, collecting, we may suppose, the materials for his invaluable History of New Hampshire, the first volume of which was published at Philadelphia in 1784. Noah Webster had just entered Yale; and, before the Revolution ended, had begun those labors which were to yield spelling-book and dictionary as their lasting fruit.

Then, of other writers, there were Nathaniel Evans, of New Jersey, a collection of whose poems was posthumously published in 1772; Theodoric and Richard Bland, both Virginians, the former an occasional versifier, the latter a pamphleteer; Dr. Benjamin Church, who impaired his growing fame as a spirited poet

by treasonable correspondence with the enemy, and was compelled to leave the country, the ship in which he sailed from Boston for the West Indies never being heard from ; Hannah Adams, who, though but twenty years old, was laying the foundations of learning and taste for her subsequent industrious and honorable literary career ; and finally Mercy Warren, one of the most truly and effectively patriotic women of the Revolution, author of several poems and tragedies, and in after years of a history of the war.

The year 1775 saw the first number of Isaiah Thomas's New England Almanack. The first dramatic work written in America was now about a dozen years old, having appeared in 1763. This was "The Prince of Parthia," a tragedy of considerable but uneven merit, its author being Thomas Godfrey, a native of Philadelphia.

Perhaps the most curious chapter in the volume of Revolutionary literature was that furnished by the career of Phillis Wheatley, the "prodigy" of her times, and such not only by reason of her youth, but of her race and

condition. She was a native African, had been brought to this country in 1761, was purchased in the slave-mart of Boston by the family whose name she bore, and was now only about twenty years of age. She manifested great intelligence, and acquired learning and accomplishments with astonishing rapidity and ease. Her poems, which were numerous, and extremely creditable considering her history, were collected and published in a volume. One of them, addressed to Washington, read in connection with the correspondence which attended it, will give the reader a good idea of her powers, and of the place she held in the public esteem :—

Phillis Wheatley to Gen. Washington.

Sir :

I have taken the freedom to address your Excellency in the enclosed Poem, and entreat your acceptance, though I am not insensible of its inaccuracies. Your being appointed by the Grand Continental Congress to be Generalissimo of the Armies of North America, together with the fame of your virtues, excite sensations not easy to suppress. Your generosity, therefore, I presume, will pardon the attempt. Wishing your Excellency all possible success in the

great cause you are so generously engaged in, I am
Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

Phillis Wheatley.

Providence, Oct. 26, 1775.

HIS EXCELLENCY GEN. WASHINGTON.

Celestial choir ! enthron'd in realms of light,
Columbia's scenes of glorious toils I write.
While freedom's cause her anxious breast alarms,
She flashes dreadful in refulgent arms.
See mother earth her offspring's fate bemoan,
And nations gaze at scenes before unknown !
See the bright beams of heaven's revolving light
Involved in sorrows and the veil of night !

The goddess comes, she moves divinely fair,
Olive and laurel binds her golden hair :
Wherever shines this native of the skies,
Unnumber'd charms and recent graces rise.

Muse ! bow propitious while my pen relates
How pour her armies through a thousand gates,
As when Eolus heaven's face deforms,
Enwrapp'd in tempest and a night of storms ;
Astonish'd ocean feels the wild uproar,
The reflux surges beat the sounding shore ;
Or thick as leaves in Autumn's golden reign,
Such, and so many, moves the warrior's train.
In bright array they seek the work of war,
When high unfurl'd the ensign waves in air.

Shall I to Washington their praise recite?
Enough thou know'st them in the fields of fight.
Thee, first in place and honours, — we demand
The grace and glory of thy martial band.
Fam'd for thy valour, for thy virtues more,
Hear every tongue thy guardian aid implore!

One century scarce perform'd its destined round,
When Gallic powers Columbia's fury found;
And so may you, whoever dares disgrace
The land of freedom's heaven-defended race!
Fix'd are the eyes of nations on the scales,
For in their hopes Columbia's arm prevails.
Anon Britannia droops the pensive head,
While round increase the rising hills of dead.
Ah! cruel blindness to Columbia's state!
Lament thy thirst of boundless powers too late.
Proceed, great chief, with virtue on thy side,
Thy ev'ry action let the goddess guide.
A crown, a mansion, and a throne that shine,
With gold unfading, Washington! be thine.

Washington's reply to this offering was as follows:—

Cambridge, February 2d, 1776.

MISS PHILLIS:

Your favor of the 26th October did not reach my hands till the middle of December. Time enough, you will say, to have given an answer ere this. Granted. But a variety of important occurrences continually interposing to distract the mind and withdraw the

attention, I hope will apologize for the delay, and plead my excuse for the seeming but not real neglect. I thank you most sincerely for your polite notice of me, in the elegant lines you enclosed; and however undeserving I may be of such encomium and panegyric, the style and manner exhibit a striking proof of your poetical talents; in honour of which, and as a tribute justly due to you, I would have published the poem, had I not been apprehensive that, while I only meant to give the world this new instance of your genius, I might have incurred the imputation of vanity. This, and nothing else, determined me not to give it place in the public prints. If you should ever come to Cambridge, or near head-quarters, I shall be happy to see a person so favoured by the Muses, and to whom Nature has been so liberal and beneficent in her dispensations. I am, with great respect, your obedient humble servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

The system of public libraries in the United States belongs exclusively to the present century; and almost wholly to the third quarter of it, which is just now closed. A hundred years ago the only libraries that could properly fall under this designation, apart from the comparatively small collections of the colleges, were the Society Library

in New York, and the Library Company's in Philadelphia. The collection of books belonging to the latter was not a large or valuable one, though it enjoyed the patronage of Franklin. It was housed in Carpenters' Hall, and was open daily from 2 to 7 P.M. The librarian's salary was £60. The free use of the books was tendered to the members of the Congress. The Redwood Library was in existence at Newport; and there was a Library Society in Charleston, S.C., now about thirty years old, which had accumulated a fund of a hundred thousand dollars, and at one time had a collection of from five to six thousand volumes. Most of the books were destroyed by fire in 1771. Private libraries there were, some of them large and valuable; larger and more valuable in proportion, probably, than those of the present day. The parish library held a place of importance, which it has long since lost, and was often administered upon the circulating principle. Its contents were scarcely miscellaneous in even the slightest degree, but almost wholly theological; comprising the works of

English theologians, memoirs, standard histories, and volumes of sermons and religious essays. Conspicuous among these parish libraries was that left with the Old South Church, Boston, by its then lately deceased pastor, Rev. Thomas Prince, and designated by him as the "New England Library." Books were loaned with generous freedom from hand to hand, and in this way did wide and persistent service. In the large towns, circulating libraries upon the familiar plan attempted to meet the popular want for a lighter literature. One such had been established in Boston, by John Main, as early as 1764.

In 1773, Mr. James Foster Condry, advertising in the "Boston Gazette" of July 8th a recent importation "of the most esteemed Books," to be found on sale "at his Book-Store in Union Street, directly opposite the Cornfield," specifies :

. . . a very large

Assortment — in

Law — Phyſick — Hiſtory — Divinity — Claſſick —
Navigation — Huſbandry — Agriculture, &c.

ALSO

A large Collection of Plays, Children's and Chapman's Books, Bibles of every size and Quality, Pfalters, Primers, Spelling Books, and Pfalm-Books — Grove on the Sacrament, Doddridge's Family Religion, a Poem entitled the Grave — Recovery from Sicknefs, Smith's Eflay, Diffenting Gentleman's Anfwer, Town and Country, &c, &c.

That mysterious "collection of books belonging to a gentleman deceased," the pathetic announcement of whose sale draws tears from our eyes and money from our pockets so frequently in these later days, seems to be an old collection, for we find it advertised in the "Boston Gazette," of May 3, 1773.

The American author was often his own publisher, and publishing was far from being the science into which it has since been developed. The following prospectus relating to the publication of young Dwight's poem (see p. 119) indicates with what throes even poetic thought sometimes found deliverance into the printed page : * —

* The New England Chronicle, March 14, 1776.

PROPOSALS for Printing by SUBSCRIPTION.

The CONQUEST of CANAAN,

A POEM, *in nine books.*

I. This work will be Contained in twelve sheets, making upwards of 350 pages 12 mo.

II. It will be printed with an elegant type, upon fine writing paper ; will be contained in one volume, delivered to the subscribers neatly bound, gilt and lettered, at the price of one dollar.

III. Those who subscribe for twelve, shall have a thirteenth gratis.

SUBSCRIPTIONS for the Poem, are taken in by J. Dunlap in Philadelphia, Mr. J. Holt, New York, Mr. W. C. Houston, in Princeton, Mr. F. Barber, in Elizabethtown, Mr. J. Davenport, in Fairfield, Messrs. Greens, in New Haven, Mr. F. Watson, in Hartford, Mr. H. Hill, in Norwich, Mr. G. Olney, in Providence, the Printer of this paper, in Cambridge, Doctor J. Brackett, in Portsmouth, and by various other gentlemen in the principal towns on the Continent ; with all of whom are lodged papers, Containing a general account of the work. . . . A further description, and some specimens of it, will soon be published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*.

But we must pass from books to another appliance of the intellectual life of the time.

VIII.

THE PRESS.

THERE were no daily newspapers in the time of the Revolution. Of some fifty papers which were born, and lived, or died, between 1748 and 1783, all were weeklies or semi-weeklies. There were forty-three such in existence at the end of the war. They were poor affairs, viewed in the light of the journalism of to-day ; but, measured by their times, displayed considerable enterprise, and exerted an immense influence. It was their characteristic that they aimed not so much to print the news of the locality in which they were published as to bring to that locality news from distant parts of the country and of the world. In fact, the newspapers of the Revolution had comparatively little to do with news of any kind. The gathering of it had not been reduced to a system. The publisher was his own editor

and reporter. There were no telegraph tolls to pay ; and, had there been, there would have been no money with which to have paid them. News travelled to the paper by private conveyance. It was two months coming from Great Britain, and six months from Constantinople. That useful and widely known individual, "a gentleman of undoubted veracity," lived, however, in the country at that time, and rendered valuable services. The papers were filled with political sayings, satires, and lampoons. By many of them, the largest liberty of discussion was allowed ; and there were noticeable tendencies to the freest sort of speculation. Of journalism in the modern sense of the term, elaborated, enterprising, competitive, lavish in outlay, and presenting a field for the highest attainments and most carefully acquired professional skill, there was absolutely nothing. And yet we must accord to the journals of the Revolution, small, irregular, struggling sheets that they were, the credit of a generally heroic spirit, and a very noble achievement in shaping the patriotic temper of the times.

A number of newspapers were published in and about Boston, all but one of which, however, were suspended wholly or in part during the siege. This one survivor of the disturbances of 1775-76 was the "Massachusetts Gazette and Weekly News-Letter," the organ of the Tories. The "Massachusetts Spy," now four years old, had been founded by Isaiah Thomas as a neutral sheet, but had become committed to the Revolutionary party. The prospectus which announced its appearance in July, 1770, gives so graphic a picture of a newspaper enterprise of the time, that we copy it in full, as quoted by Mr. Hudson : * —

TO THE PUBLIC.

It has always been customary for Printers and Publiſhers of new periodical Publications, to introduce them to the World with an Account of the Nature and End of their Deſign. We, therefore, beg Leave to obſerve, That this ſmall Paper, under the name of THE MASSACHUSETTS SPY, is calculated on an entire NEW PLAN. If it meets with a favorable Reception, it will be regularly publiſhed THREE Times every Week, viz, *Tueſdays*, *Thurſdays* and *Saturdays* (on two of which Days no News-Paper is publiſhed

* Journalism in the United States, p. 127.

in this Town) by which Means, those who favour this Undertaking with their Subscription, will always have the most material of the News, which may from Time to Time arrive from Europe and from the other Parts of this Continent, on the Day of its Arrival, or the next Day following, (Sundays excepted) which will be sooner through this Channel than any other. Great Care will be taken in collecting and inserting the freshest and choicest Intelligence from Europe, and the material Transactions of this Town and Province; Twice every Week will be given a List of the Arrival and Departure of Ships and other Vessels, also a List of Marriages and Deaths, &c. and occasionally will be inserted select Pieces in Prose and Verse, curious Inventions and new Discoveries in Nature and Science. Those who Choose to advertise herein, may depend on having their ADVERTISEMENTS inserted in a neat and Conspicuous Manner, at the most reasonable Rates. When there happens to be a larger Quantity of News and a greater Number of Advertisements than can well be contained in one Number, at its usual Bigness, it will be enlarged to double its Size at such Times, in order that our Readers may not be disappointed of Intelligence.

This is a brief Sketch of the Plan on which we propose to publish this Paper, and we readily flatter ourselves the Public will honour it with that Regard the Execution of it may deserve; and doubt not, it will be executed with such Judgment and Accuracy as to merit a favourable Reception.

Then there was the "New England Chronicle," published by Powars and Willis, at one time in Boston, at another time in Cambridge, and then again in Boston ; besides sustaining the rather intimate relation of both consequent of, and antecedent to, the "Essex Gazette," of Salem ; and further appearing at one time under the name of the "Independent Chronicle." There was also the "Independent Ledger and American Advertiser," founded in 1778 ; the "Continental Journal and Weekly Advertiser," first issued in May, 1776 ; and the "Boston Gazette," which latter, dating back as far as 1766, was the chief organ of the Revolutionary Party. To all of these patriot papers Samuel Adams, John Adams, James Otis, Joseph Warren, and others of the republican leaders in Boston, were constant contributors.

Let us look over a copy of one of these old papers ; and, for the value of the associations of the date, let it be "The New England Chronicle," of July 4, 1776. It is "Vol. VIII. Numb. 411," and bears the imprint : "BOSTON : Printed by POWARS and WILLIS,

at their Office opposite the new COURT HOUSE, Queen-Street." It is a four-page sheet, about ten inches by fifteen, three columns to a page. There are no rules between the columns. The first column of the first page contains a proclamation of General Washington, offering a bounty of lands to soldiers and officers of the army; the second, a brief resolution of the Congress, and short extracts from letters from Lewistown, Baltimore, and New York; the third, a communication from some anonymous correspondent relating to Dr. Price's new work on Civil Liberty. Following this, upon the second page, come advices from Williamsburg, Philadelphia, New York, Hartford, Providence, and Watertown, with half a column of advertisements. Two columns of the third page are occupied by further advices from New York and other points relating to the progress of the war, and the third column is divided between more advertisements and a legal notice signed "Tim. Pickering, Jun." One-half of the fourth page is again given up to advertisements, and the other to despatches

from London reporting the proceedings of Parliament. There is no editorial matter ; and, it may be added, no telegraph " specials " from Philadelphia, foretelling the Declaration !

Outside of Boston, the New England papers of the time were "*The New Hampshire Gazette*," which was founded at Portsmouth in 1756, and has continued to the present day without interruption or change of name ; a "*New Hampshire Gazette*," started in 1775 ; the "*Norwich Packet*" (1773) ; the "*Hartford Courant*" (1764) ; the "*Connecticut Journal and New Haven Post Boy*" (1767) ; the "*Connecticut Gazette*" (1773), successor to the "*New London Gazette*" (1758) ; and the "*Newport Mercury*" (1758), of which James Franklin was the publisher. Vermont's paper, the "*Vermont Gazette, or Green Mountain Boy*," was not started till 1781.

New York being occupied by the British during the greater part of the year, only four papers were continued through the period, three weeklies and one semi-weekly ; the publication being so arranged that there was a paper every day in the week except Sunday

and Tuesday. The semi-weekly was "Rivington's Royal Gazette," and it was the leading one of the four. All had the sanction of the British authorities, and were in the hands of the Tories. "Rivington's Gazette" was very outspoken in its opposition to the patriots, and expressed its sympathies for the royal cause in the strongest terms. It is said that several hundred copies of each issue were regularly sent to Boston in 1775, to be distributed in General Gage's army. The "Gazette's" three companions were "Gaine's Mercury, the "Royal American Gazette," and the "New York Mercury." The patriot papers were driven out of the city by the entrance of the British. The "New York Journal, or General Advertiser," (1767), removed to Poughkeepsie, and the "New York Packet and American Advertiser" (1776) to Fishkill. Albany had a "Post-Boy."

In New Jersey there was a "New Jersey Gazette" (1777) and a "New Jersey Journal" (1778), the latter published at Chatham.

In addition to the "Pennsylvania Chronicle and Universal Advertiser," which had

been published in Philadelphia since 1767, no less than five other papers were started in that city during the very first year of the Revolution, one of them a German sheet. Further south was the "Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser," whose first number, under date of Aug. 20, 1773, contained an advertisement of George Washington's, offering for lease twenty thousand acres of land on the Ohio and Kanawha Rivers. Two "Virginia Gazettes" were published in Williamsburg, Va., with one of which Jefferson had much to do. In this it is said that the Declaration of Independence was first published on the 26th of July. Still further south there were the "North Carolina Gazette" at Newbern, the "South Carolina and American General Gazette" of Charleston, and the "Georgia Gazette" in Savannah.

It is impossible at this distance to realize the difficulties which attended newspaper publication a hundred years ago. The greatest of them grew out of the scarcity of paper occasioned by the war. Not only was paper scarce, but rags were scarce; and the only

paper-mill in New England in 1769 had to appeal to the people to save every scrap, after this fashion : —

ADVERTISEMENT.

The Bell Cart will go through Boston before the end of next month, to collect Rags for the Paper-Mill at Milton, when all people that will encourage the Paper Manufactory, may dispose of them. They are taken in at Mr. Caleb Davis's shop, at the Fortification ; Mr. Andrew Gillespie's, near Dr. Clark's ; Mr. Andras Randall's, near Phillips's Wharf ; and Mr. John Boies's in Long Lane ; Mr. Frothingham's in Charlestown ; Mr. Williams's in Marblehead ; Mr. Edson's in Salem ; Mr. John Harris's in Newbury ; Mr. Daniel Fowle's in Portsmouth ; and at the Paper-Mill in Milton.*

This difficulty seems to have been no less ten years later, when the "Massachusetts Spy" again, as quoted by Mr. Hudson,† contained the following touching and irresistible appeal : —

CASH GIVEN FOR LINEN AND COTTON AND LINEN RAGS, AT THE PRINTING OFFICE.

It is earnestly requested that the fair Daughters of Liberty in this extensive Country would not neglect to

* News-Letter, March 6, 1769, as quoted in "Journalism in the United States," p. 114. † *Ib.* p. 115.

serve their Country, by saving for the Paper-Mill, all Linen and Cotton and Linen Rags, be they ever so small, as they are equally good for the purpose of making paper, as those that are larger. A bag hung up in one corner of a room, would be the means of saving many which would be otherwise lost. If the Ladies should not make a fortune by this piece of economy they will at least have the satisfaction of knowing they are doing an essential service to the Community, which with TEN SHILLINGS per pound, the price now given for clean white rags, they must be sensible will be a sufficient reward.

ISAIAH THOMAS.

The subscription price of the "New England Chronicle" was six shillings and eight pence per annum. Happy the printer who received his pay in money and with promptness. The following advertisement from the "New York Journal," in August, 1777, bears on this point:—

The printer being unable to carry on his business without the necessaries of life, is obliged to affix the following prices to his work, viz.: For a quarter of news, 12 lbs. of beef, pork, veal, or mutton, or 4 lbs. of butter, or 7 lbs. of cheese, or 18 lbs. of fine flour, or half a bushel of wheat, or one bushel of Indian corn, or half a cord of wood, or 300 wt. of hay, or

other articles of country produce as he shall want them, in like proportions, or as much money as will purchase them at the time ; for other articles of printing work, the prices to be in proportion to that of the newspaper. All his customers, who have to spare any of the above, or other articles of country produce, he hopes will let him know it, and afford him the necessary supplies, without which his business here must very soon be discontinued.

There is something suggestive in the very names which many of these old papers bore, names which hold a meaning strikingly illustrative of the methods of communication in use. Now we call our papers *Telegraphs*, *Expresses*, and *Mails* ; then they were *News-Letters*, *Packets*, and *Post-Boys*.

The newspaper was not the only instrument for influencing public opinion. The pamphlet held a place midway between the cumbersome book and the transient journal ; and this light artillery of the political ordnance of the war was in constant use and did invaluable service. Such a pamphlet was Thomas Paine's "*Common Sense*," already referred to, which was published early in 1776, attained an enormous circulation, and

exerted a powerful influence in shaping the public mind in favor of independence and confederation. The hand-bill, too, and the broadside, as well as the ballad, were favorite weapons of thought, and gave a swift and easy currency to the invectives and satires which would hardly have found expression in more formal ways.

IX.

THE CHURCHES AND THE CLERGY.

THE American people at birth were emphatically a religious people. All sects of the Christian Church had a foothold in the country, though their relative importance, measured by the number of congregations and value of property, was very different from now. Not only all the States, but all the leading communities, were distinctively Protestant. The Methodists and Roman Catholics, which, in numbers and wealth, substantially lead all the other denominations to-day, were then at the other extreme of the list, the formal organization of neither having taken place until after the Revolution. The order complete was as follows : Congregationalist, Baptist, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Lutheran, German Reformed, Dutch Reformed, and Roman Catholic. As a whole, the Congregationalists, the Baptists, and the Presbyterians

were warmly on the side of independence ; the Episcopalians, as generally, in sympathy with the mother country. Exceptions of course there were on both sides. In shaping the views of the conflict and moulding the character which wrought them out so successfully, the patriot pulpit wielded a powerful influence. The political sermons of the New England clergy were printed in pamphlet form and scattered far and wide ; and the Church, carefully dis severed from the State, was yet both brain and heart thereto, at the time when the condition of the latter was a question of life and death. The Methodists and Roman Catholics were too few and feeble to play any distinctive part in the contest. The Congregationalists were strongest in New England, of whose broad and firm institutions they had laid the foundations more than a century before. The Episcopalians were similarly strong in New York, and the Presbyterians in New Jersey and Philadelphia ; the Baptists were feeling their way down into Virginia, and planting there the seeds of the thick growth that has since

sprung up through all the South. John Murray, the father of Universalism, was just beginning his American ministry in New Jersey, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts. The Quakers were in force in Philadelphia. The eccentric sect of the Sandemanians was establishing itself obscurely in some of the inland towns of Connecticut. The only Episcopal clergyman who remained in Philadelphia after its evacuation by the British was Dr. William White, who had continued to pray for the King up to the time of the Declaration, and then with a good grace submitted to the new order. He it was who was afterward consecrated first Episcopal bishop of Pennsylvania.

Throughout the entire country the minister was largely charged with the general dissemination of intellectual influence. His ministry was not restricted, as it is now, to the mere preaching of sermons and pastoral care. There was much more for him to do then. More was expected of him. He did more. How much is well set forth in the words that follow :—

The clergyman not only sanctified and cemented the parish, but he founded the State. It was his instruction which moulded the soldier and the statesman. Living among agriculturists, remote from towns, where language and literature would naturally be neglected and corrupted, in advance of the school-master and the school, he was the future college in embryo. When we see men like Marshall graduating at his right hand, with no other courses than the simple man of God who had left the refinements of civilization for the wilderness taught, and with no other diploma but his benediction, we may indeed stop to honor their labors. Let the name of the American missionary of the colonial and revolutionary age suggest something more to the student of our history than the limited notion of a combatant with heathenism and vice. He was also the companion and guide to genius and virtue. When the memorials of those days are written, let his name be recorded, in no insignificant or feeble letters, on the page with the great men of the State whom his talents and presence inspired.*

The ranks of the clergy of the Revolution included many stalwart and noble characters, as well as some that were amusingly eccentric. There was President John Witherspoon of Princeton College, where he was the succes-

* Duyckinck's *Cyclopedia of American Literature*, vol. i. p. 421.

sor of Jonathan Edwards, a lineal descendant of John Knox, and now about fifty years of age; Dr. Duffield, ten years younger, and since 1771 the pastor of Old Pine Street Church in Philadelphia, where he made himself so conspicuous for devotion to the patriot cause, that a price was put upon his head; Mr. Duché, the worthy and patriotic Episcopalian of Philadelphia, who, by offering extempore prayer in his capacity as chaplain to the Continental Congress, verified Samuel Adams's assurance that he was no bigot, and astonished those delegates who were "dissenters;" Dr. Auchmuty, who ended his twenty-nine years ministry over Trinity Church in New York in 1777, and by his loyalty to both the Church and State of England earned the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Oxford; and Dr. Seabury, also of New York, loyalist, and after the Revolution consecrated the first Bishop of the Episcopal Church in the United States. At Elizabethtown, N.J., was the Rev. James Caldwell, a Presbyterian, of Huguenot descent, who, in the attack by the British upon

Springfield, supplied the patriot soldiers with hymn-books from the church for wadding, exclaiming, "Now, boys, give them Watts!" He it was whose wife was so cruelly murdered by the British, while surrounded by her nine children. At New Haven, Dr. Ezra Stiles had just succeeded to the presidency of Yale College. At Cambridge, Dr. Langdon presided over Harvard. In Boston, Dr. Charles Chauncy was drawing to the close of his sixty years ministry over the First Church, and the First Baptist Church at the North End had for its pastor Rev. Dr. Stillman. Dr. Samuel Cooper, pastor of the Brattle Street Church, was pre-eminently the leading Boston clergyman of the day. He, too, was a political writer, and an active associate of the Adamses.

The odd genius of the Boston pulpit, or one such, was Mather Byles, who was the first pastor of the Hollis Street Church, and one of the few clergymen of New England who adhered to the Crown during the Revolution. There is almost no end to the stories illustrating his wit, which was of a sort that

chiefly expressed itself in quips and puns. Thus, when one day he descried a couple of the Selectmen with their chaise mired in the unkempt street before his house, he said to them, "Well, gentlemen, I am glad to see you stirring in this matter at last."

In character and career, Rev. Dr. Emmons, of Franklin, Mass., was one of the most marked men of his times ; yet his life was in good measure a representative one, and the story of it lets us well into a view of the New England interior of the time. He was a man of methodical habits, as most all the fathers were. He divided his days by inflexible rule, rising, eating, working, exercising, and retiring at fixed hours, which changed not. In those ordinarily placid days, there were few of the interruptions which now make a regular routine so difficult, if not impossible. For more than half a century he sat in the same chair in his study, and to look about the room was to see at once the spot where his feet invariably rested. The wood must be laid on his fire *just so*, the wood-box be replenished at such a time, the visitor must enter and depart

by a time-table, and every peg had its appointed duty.

Stern as was the faith, and rigid as was the practice, of these old divines, there was much humor in their composition, and on occasion they could crack a joke with anybody. Dr. Mather Byles was not the only punster of his times.

It was a formidable matter then, when pastorates often lasted a lifetime, to "call" a minister. The church, quite likely, took an entire day for its action, making the important occasion a season of special fasting and prayer. It was not an uncommon thing for an ordination service to be held, weather permitting, in the open air, meeting-houses not always being large enough to accommodate the curious and reverent throngs which would assemble thereto from all the regions roundabout. The common range of a minister's salary in the inland towns of New England was from \$250 to \$400 a year. This was pieced out by a gift at settlement, and occasional donations afterward, and sometimes supplemented by grants of cord-wood or other produce from the farms of

his parishioners. Happy was he who received his stipend promptly and in substantial money !

The meeting-houses of both town and country suffered greatly during the war. Such as fell into the hands of the British were desecrated without scruple, and some of them were plundered or even altogether destroyed. Those which were spared by war have been wasted by time, and few specimens of the class remain.

The old representative meeting-house was a huge ungainly block, cubical, or nearly so, two stories in height, furnished within with galleries, and without with a stunted tower. The pulpit was lofty, reserved, and imposing, befitting the position of him who occupied it. In front was "the deacons' seat," where reposed these worthies in visible emblem of ecclesiastical order and authority. Over the pulpit was the sounding-board, so suspended as to reflect the preacher's voice and send it forth the better to his hearers. The pews were large square boxes, or pens, close-doored, high-walled, and railed around the top. Here in the families of the congregation gathered,

each by itself, half of each group obliged, of course, to sit with back to the preacher. The allotment of pews was often a matter not of individual choice, but of parish arrangement ; and the "seating committee" under the latter had a difficult and delicate work to perform. No common heat was provided in winter, the individual foot-stove being the only source of warmth. Cushions and carpets were "vanity." The Sabbath services were long and tedious, the two of morning and afternoon coming close together, with only a brief intermission between, which there was no Sabbath school to occupy. The scarcity of paper often compelled the minister to preach from a manuscript so closely written that the use of a magnifying glass, to decipher it as he read, was necessary. There was no public reading of the Scriptures.

Church music deserves here a paragraph by itself. There had been little or no popular instruction in the art of song, and there was a very limited knowledge of sacred tunes. Watts's "Psalms and Hymns," "Tate and Brady's Collection," and the now famous "Bay

Psalm Book," were the only hymn-books in common use; and the word "common" must here be used in a very restricted sense. The hymns were usually "lined" out by one of the deacons, and the introduction of books into church use was effected only after violent opposition. The printing of sacred music had but just begun. Billings's singing-book, which appeared in 1770, was the first original publication of its kind in the country; and, defective though it was, it led to a revolution in the methods of public praise. Armed with this weapon, the church choir rose into a recognized position; and the "lining" deacon, tenacious of his privileges to the last, was compelled to subside. The new system was however long looked upon with suspicion; and instruments, even the sedate bass-viol and the docile fiddle, had to fight their way to respectability. The curious pitchpipe was depended on to start the tune; and as for the noble organ, that was looked upon in some quarters as "an instrument of the devil for the entrapping of men's souls," and as such was for a long time excluded from good ecclesiastical society.

An important and interesting adjunct of the meeting-house, in some parts of the country, was the "Sabba'-Day House." Comfort, being carefully shut out of the meeting-house itself, was only thus rudely provided for in such subordinate structures. The Sabba'-Day House was a family affair, generally comprising but a single apartment, perhaps fifteen feet square, with windows and a fire-place. It was very plainly and sparsely furnished. Chairs for the old people and benches for the children stood round the walls, and a table in the centre might hold the Bible and a few religious books and pamphlets; while at one side shelves contained dishes for cooking and eating. Sometimes the Sabba'-Day House was mounted above a shed, within which the horse could be sheltered. A group of such cabins standing about the meeting-house added not a little to the picturesqueness of the spot, and their use conduced greatly to the convenience and comfort of Sabbath worship, especially in winter. The family able to keep a Sabba'-Day House drove directly thither on Sabbath mornings, warmed themselves up by a hot

fire without, and quite likely by a hot drink within ; and here spent the intermission, with further wholesome regard for the wants of the inner man. The better class of these Sabba'-Day Houses were whitewashed, some of them were double, and to the truth of history it must be said that between Sabbaths they occasionally furnished the wild young men of the parish with secure haunts for unseemly carousals.

Thanksgiving and Fast were the chief public religious days. A feature of the religious life of Boston was the Thursday Lecture, which on one occasion of Washington's attendance was followed by an "elegant dinner at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern, Provided at the Public Expense, when Joy and gratitude sat on every countenance and smiled in every eye." Washington, it should be said, though a communicant of the Church of England, displayed a spirit of the truest catholicity in religious matters. When in Morristown, N.J., learning that the sacrament was to be observed in the Presbyterian Church upon the following Sabbath, he called upon its pastor,

Rev. Dr. Jones, and asked whether communicants of another denomination would be permitted to join.

“Most certainly,” was the reply: “ours is not the Presbyterian table, General, but the Lord’s; and hence we give the Lord’s invitation to all his followers, of whatever name.”

“I am glad of it,” said Washington: “that is as it ought to be; but, as I was not sure of the fact, I thought I would ascertain it from yourself, as I propose to join with you on that occasion. Though a member of the Church of England, I have no exclusive partialities.”

Some of the most picturesque and truly historic churches of the country were those of its central and southern portions. Here, for instance, was the Dutch church of Flatbush, Long Island; a stone edifice in the form of a parallelogram, sixty-five feet by fifty, square-roofed, and holding a bell in its small steeple. The gallery across its eastern end was divided into two sections, one set apart for the slaves, the other for poor whites and strangers. Its windows were of small stained glass, set in lead; and under the build-

ing were vaults for the burial of the dead. In Virginia, seven miles south-west from Mount Vernon, stood Pohick Church, to us now of special sacredness as having been the place of Washington's attendance. Its recent sore dilapidations have been repaired, and the honored edifice is in a measure restored to its old condition. In its prime, it was a plain but stately house, unecclesiastical in its appearance, but dignified by an elaborate pulpit, and fitted with the square pews of the time with seats upon their three sides.

In South Carolina, in the village of Dorchester, the home of the Massachusetts colonists, was the Old White Meeting-House, long since abandoned ; and in the same town St. George's Church, a pretentious, cruciform building of brick, with Gothic windows, to which the ladies drove of a Sunday morning in their chaises, convoyed by gentlemen on horse-back, with swords hanging by their sides.

There are many of these ruined churches of a hundred years ago now scattered through the South, and it were well if present impulse

should lead to their recovery and preservation.

The clergy of Revolutionary times, it should be remarked again, as we take leave of them and of their churches, were men of great intelligence and unsurpassed influence; and much more distinctly a class by themselves than now. They were regarded with a reverence, not to say awe, wholly foreign to the mind at this present day. The meeting-houses in which they preached were the true cradles of national liberty and virtue; and their own figures are among the noblest and most striking in all the group of worthies now passing in review.

X.

PROFESSIONS AND TRADES.

THE industrial interests of the country were chiefly agricultural. Manufactures had only just begun to feel the impulse of the troubles with the mother country, and, with the immense mechanical developments of the present century yet far in the future, were in their earliest infancy. The New England farm and the Southern plantation were the representative investments of the people in the tillage of the soil.

A recently published letter of General Richard Montgomery, of Revolutionary fame, gives an interesting account of his farm in Westchester, N.Y., as it stood in 1773. It was doubtless, in the general, a fair sample of possessions of this description. It consisted of about seventy acres, with fresh and salt meadow in uncommon proportion, and a good orchard. The seven acres of salt meadow

were mostly covered with black grass, considered "a very great source of improvement to the farmer." The nearly nine acres of fresh meadow once constituted a rich black swamp, which had been drained at considerable expense. The woodland, embracing about the same area as the meadow, was swampy, and susceptible of being as easily transferred into meadow. The advantages of excellent fish and oysters to be had near by were esteemed an important consideration. The dwelling-house (which had just been new-roofed) was on the "eastern road," and conveniently situated for an inn or a store, either of which enterprises was much "wanted in that part of the country;" while the premises further afforded "a very fine situation for a gentleman to build upon," the neighborhood being "desirable," and but fifteen miles from New York. For this property the owner asked the price of £650, though he intimated that his "bottom price" would be £600.

The thrifty farmer in these times had the benefit of neither agricultural newspaper nor

agricultural society. He thought out his own theories, if he ventured into theories at all. If he were of independent and courageous habit, he was just beginning to experiment with artificial fertilizers. If he had been prosperous, and had acquired lands and stock in abundance, he would let out portions of the former on shares, and some of the latter by the six months or the year, receiving hire for his cows in cheese and butter. He usually kept two or three hired men all the year round, and sufficient "extra" hands during the summer, receiving them to his table, and treating them in all respects as members of his family. Twenty pounds was a price in 1776 for a six months' term of labor ; a price that expressed in part the increase of the demand over the supply, and, in part, the depreciation of the currency. Dr. Wheelock, breaking ground for Dartmouth College in the New Hampshire wilderness, paid his men three or four shillings a day ; and the kitchen girl received about the same amount a week.

The necessities of the war created some rude manufactures of saltpetre, powder, and

weapons small and great ; but for the most part trades were confined to the production of small-wares for domestic use, — tin, wooden, and of similar description. In the “New England Chronicle,” of June 1, 1775, Mr. John Clarke “Begs leave to inform the Public, that he is removed from the Manufactory in Boston to Concord, about a Quarter of a Mile East of the Meeting-House, on the great Road to Boston, where he carries on the Button-making Business as usual, and hopes the Favour of his Former and other Customers. Good strong Buttons with iron Eyes and Bottoms for Six Shillings O. T. per Dozen with the following Motto, — Union and Liberty in all America. N.B. Said CLARKE makes any Quantity of Buttons on timely Notice, as cheap and as good as those in London.”

The lady-reader may like to take a peep into a shop of the period, as depicted in the following advertisement in the “New England Chronicle,” for Aug. 24, 1775 : —

BROADCLOTHS.

There is for Sale, at BICKER'S Shop, in Cambridge, near the House formerly improved by Mr Bradish, as a Tavern,

A Fine Assortment of blue, and other colour'd Broad Cloths, with Trimmings to match, with a good Assortment of Checks, Linens ; silk, cotton and linen Handkerchiefs, Bed-Ticks, Corduroys, striped Hollands, Velvit and Ververets, Ratteens, Serges, Diapers, Cambricks, Lawns, worsted Hose, Breeches Patterns of most Colours, Cambleteens, Sewing Silks, Twist, Threads, Buckrams, Quality Binding, Crewels, Tapes, Needles, Pen and Jack Knives, Shoe and Knee Buckles, Felt Hats, Loaf Sugar by hundred or less, Lynn Shoes, Ribbons Nonefopretties, gold and silver Lace, gold Buttons and Loops, fuitable for Hats, with a variety of other Articles.

The legal profession shared the eminence of the ministerial, and was then as now a path to fame and fortune. Judges held court in circuits, and the lawyers travelled with them. "The country," wrote John Adams, from York, Me., in 1774, "is the situation to make estates by the law." And in proof of the affirmation he cites the case of John Sullivan, of Durham, N.H., "who began with nothing, but is now said to be worth ten thousand pounds lawful money, his brother James allows five or six, or perhaps seven, thousand pounds, consisting in houses and lands, notes,

bonds, and mortgages. He has a fine stream of water, with an excellent corn-mill, saw-mill, fulling-mill, scythe-mill, and others, in all six mills, which are both his delight and his profit." It certainly could not have been by his proper professional fees alone that the lawyer of that time grew rich. Eight dollars was a common fee in an important case, five for a jury argument, and smaller sums for smaller services. In North Carolina, the legal fee for drawing a deed was one dollar; to charge five, as some of the leeches of the profession did, was an outrageous extortion.

An interesting feature of legal life in New York was a club of lawyers, known as "The Moot." Its regular meetings were devoted to the discussion of professional questions purely. Its first president was William Livingston; and its first secretary, Samuel Jones, was succeeded by Mr. Jay. The elder members of the bar participated with the younger in the proceedings of "The Moot," and a feeling of entire fraternity prevailed among all. No one was allowed to introduce political topics of the province, and to persist in such

an offence was to invite expulsion. Great weight was attached to the opinions enounced in the meetings, so great as to constitute it almost "a court of last resort."

This glance at the professional occupations of the people would be imperfect without a tribute to the painters of the period, the list of which includes names that must remain forever pre-eminent in the history of American art. The skilled engravers of the country could be counted on the fingers of one hand with two fingers to spare, the famous Paul Revere being chief among them. He it was who engraved the plates in 1775 for the paper money ordered by the Provincial Congress, and afterwards for the first issue of Continental money directed by the general Congress. The circle of painters was more numerous, and the works which they have left are among our most highly prized memorials of Revolutionary times. Portraiture was the favorite field of achievement, with an occasional attempt at historic groups and scenes.

Easily at the head of American artists at

the time immediately preceding the Revolution was John S. Copley. Copley lived in Boston, where he was born ; his estate on Beacon Street, now marked by the Somerset Club House, being one of the largest and finest in the town. He is described as a handsome man, of showy tastes ; and his striking portraits were eagerly sought for by all the old families. He had few early advantages and little training, and his successes were purely the fruits of real genius. As the war came on, greatly to the interruption of his work, he removed to England ; but he left behind him the productions of many busy years, which are scattered "from Maine to Georgia." To own a family Copley is almost a patent of American nobility. His portraits were usually large, painted with considerable regard to drapery and costume, and, if open to criticism as inclining to stiffness, were remarkable for their coloring.

Charles W. Peale, the father of Rembrandt Peale, a Marylander, was returning from England, where he had spent several years in study, at just about the time that Copley was

going thither ; and, having first served briefly in the American army, settled in Philadelphia, and in a measure succeeded to Copley's place and fame. He had been a pupil of Copley's before going abroad. John Adams, visiting his studio in 1776, found therein a large variety of portraits and sketches. Peale painted no less than fourteen portraits of Washington, and had for sitters so large a number of the public men of the time as to suggest to him the formation of a national gallery. His residence in Philadelphia was greatly promotive of the taste for the fine arts in that city.

Then there were John Trumbull, who also studied with Copley, and who had for his studio in Boston the very room which Smibert, a still earlier artist of considerable fame, had consecrated by his brush ; the eccentric Gilbert Stuart, who was with Trumbull a pupil of Benjamin West in London, and like Trumbull was at only the beginning of his artistic life a hundred years ago ; and Benjamin West himself, who though an American, and belonging to this period, lived so

long abroad that he hardly belongs to this group of American painters. And of minor artists there were not a few, many of whose portraits still hang in the old houses of the land.

XI.

THE MEN AND WOMEN OF THE REVOLUTION.

OUR survey of Revolutionary times would be incomplete without a rapid glance at some of the prominent people who adorned them, and who helped to make them what they were. We have mapped out the country, enumerated the important cities and towns, and travelled about among them. It remains to ask : Who distinguished those interesting localities by their residence ? Who beside the clergy were the men of public influence ? Who were attending the old churches and reading the old newspapers ?

There are two groups of notabilities who stand projected against the scenes and events of 1776, one military, the other civilian ; and, as it is a time of war, we will take the former first.

The pre-eminent military personage of 1776 was of course General George Washington. Washington was now forty-four years of age. He exceeded six feet in height, and his commanding physical presence was paralleled by a noble and dignified mien. His face was pitted with the small-pox, but exhibited strong features and a florid complexion. His eyes were blue, and his hair was brown. Bodily, mental, and moral qualities, each of the highest excellence, blended in him in striking harmony and symmetry. He possessed immense physical strength, an indomitable courage, and a moral sense of singular purity. His power of self-control was remarkable, when it is considered how deep and powerful were the passions of his nature. His personal habits were irreproachable ; a judicious temperance giving tone to his whole life. His military uniform was a blue coat with buff facings, buff waistcoat and breeches, rich epaulets, and a handsome small sword. He also carried a pair of pistols, and sometimes wore across his breast, between his coat and waistcoat, a light blue ribbon. His personal

tastes were simple and unostentatious ; but he nevertheless ordered his official life and composed his military household with considerable form and etiquette.

A prominent, if not the foremost, place by the side of Washington belonged to General Nathaniel Greene, now but thirty-six years old ; a man rather above the common size, with a tendency to corpulency in his figure ; of fair and florid complexion ; of gentle disposition and serene in manner. Then there were General Artemas Ward, whose connection with the army closed this year, he being at the age of forty-nine ; General John Stark, the hero of the Battle of Bennington, aged forty-eight ; General Israel Putnam, forty-eight ; General Horatio Gates, forty-eight ; General Charles Lee, the eccentric Englishman, forty-five ; General Philip Schuyler, forty-three ; General John Sullivan, thirty-six ; and General Henry Knox, one of the most brilliant as he was one of the youngest of the Revolutionary officers, twenty-six. A no less distinguished place in this group belonged to Montgomery, who had fallen at Quebec in

December, 1775 ; had he lived, he would now have reached his thirty-eighth year. •

The foreign officers were a set by themselves. Lafayette, now but nineteen years of age, was accounted one of the handsome men of the army. His forehead receded, his features were small and delicate, and a prominent feature was his deep red hair. The Baron Steuben was a much older man, being forty-five. So was De Kalb, who was about forty-four. Pulaski was thirty-nine, while Kosciuszko was but thirty.

Looked at together, the striking characteristic of all these Revolutionary officers is their youthfulness, their average age being a trifle under forty.

Turning now to the civilians, the eye first rests perhaps upon Benjamin Franklin, the oldest as he was the greatest of them all ; a man of strong and well-knit frame, in stature an inch or two short of six feet, of light complexion and gray eyes, and with hair hanging thickly upon his shoulders. At his right hand we may place the short, stout, and sturdy John Adams, only forty-one, of prominent

forehead, benignant eye, firm mouth, and earnest expression ; and at his left the magnetic Jefferson, who when he penned the immortal Declaration was but thirty-three years of age, tall, graceful, red-haired, and blue-eyed. The famous Samuel Adams was older than these last associates, having reached the age of fifty-four ; a man of common size, but of muscular form, erect, fair, and serious in manner. Alexander Hamilton, again, was the youth among the statesmen, being not twenty years old when his public debates and powerful pamphlets began to give him an influential place among the Revolutionary leaders. Hamilton was under rather than above the middle size, spare in figure, graceful in movement, and courtly in manner ; his general air one of uncommon delicacy and refinement. John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress, whose signature first subscribes the Declaration, was but thirty-nine, a man of fine presence and polished address. Then there were stern Roger Sherman, one of the elders, fifty-five, and Oliver Wolcott, fifty, both of Connecticut ; the elegant Philip Livingston,

of New York, sixty ; Robert Morris, of Pennsylvania, forty-three ; Cæsar Rodney, of Delaware, forty-six ; Samuel Chase, thirty-five, and Charles Carroll, thirty-nine, both of Maryland ; Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, forty-four ; Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, twenty-seven ; and Button Gwinnett, of Georgia, forty-four. All of these last-named were signers of the Declaration of Independence. Dr. Witherspoon, of New Jersey, another important member of the Continental Congress, was a man of impressive personal appearance ; and his strong Scotch accent and ardent manner gave great charm to his public utterance. Charles Thompson, the notable secretary of the body, was a tall and well-proportioned man, but spare in countenance, and crowned with erect white hair. Associated with the foregoing in the Congress, but by intention not a signer of the Declaration, was John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, better known as "The Farmer," under which soubriquet he wrote much and influentially in favor of the war. He was now forty-four years old. And there were other men of power and mark

not included with the distinguished representatives who met at Philadelphia : such as the pre-eminent Patrick Henry, of Virginia, most powerful of all the orators of the Revolution, now forty years of age, a tall, spare, awkward-looking man, whose presence, when inflamed with the fire of his genius, yet became majestic and imposing; Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut, now sixty-six, the great "war governor" of his time, on whom Washington relied as "one of his main pillars of support ;" * Christopher Gadsden, of South Carolina, one of the most zealous of the patriots, now fifty-two; Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of the same State as Gadsden, a captain in the regiment of which Gadsden was colonel, like him a man of lofty character and elegant tastes, and now just thirty years of age; and David Rittenhouse, of Philadelphia, a man of a scientific turn, whose Revolutionary services were of a peaceful and philosophic character, now forty-four.

* It is said that the designation "Brother Jonathan," as applied to the personified American people, grew out of Washington's frequent remark concerning Governor Trumbull : "Let us hear what brother Jonathan says."

Last of all there was that group upon whom the shadows rest: including Benedict Arnold, who was only thirty-six at the time of which we speak; and Aaron Burr, who was then but twenty, and only four years out of Princeton College.

With a few exceptions, the women of the Revolution are to be spoken of more conveniently in the mass than as individuals. Mrs. Mercy Warren, whose name has already had mention upon the literary page, was foremost among the intellectual representatives of her sex; and her scholarship, patriotism, and strength of character gave her really a commanding position. Her correspondence was extensive, and her counsel was frequently sought in private by the statesmen in conduct of affairs. Mrs. General Knox, who was a daughter of Thomas Flucker, a royal secretary of Massachusetts, was a conspicuous figure, no less for her vigor and independence of mind and originality of habit, than for her imposing personal appearance and dignified address. She was a recognized leader in society, and turned her admitted ascendancy

to good account ; but regretted, it is said, in after years her engrossment with public affairs, declaring that, if she could live her life over again, she "would be more of a wife, more of a mother, more of a woman." Mrs. General Greene, who was Catherine Littlefield, of Block Island, like Mrs. Knox shared with her husband the perils and hardships of campaign life. Many brilliant qualities earned for her high distinction and wide influence ; and she is specially remembered from the fact that it was at her house in Georgia, and under her encouragement, that Eli Whitney produced his famous cotton-gin. With peculiar admiration one looks back to such a woman as Mrs. Mary Draper of Dedham, in Massachusetts, who was a whole "relief committee" in herself, and converted her own premises into a perfect "soldiers' rest." At the outbreak of the war, when the patriots of New England were hastening to arms, she organized her household into a bakery, put her huge ovens in full blast, spread a long table by the road-side, and kept it bounteously supplied with pans of bread and cheese and

tubs of cider ; so, day after day, supplying the needs of hungry men, as they marched by on the way to Boston.

There is one woman of the Revolutionary times whose name we hold in most reverent remembrance : this was the mother of Washington. No portrait of her is in existence ; and her only memoir is that by G. W. P. Custis, which Mrs. Ellet has effectively epitomized. Her moral nature was predominant, but her intellectual strength gave her the right to rule in her world, while simplicity and sweetness unfailing characterized her manner and her spirit. Her tastes were domestic, her habits were industrious and exact, and her piety consecrated a secluded spot among the rocks and trees near her house as her place of prayer.

To the women of the Revolution, as a class, sentiment and custom did not allow the positions of public service which in a measure they now enjoy ; but no patriotism could be more ardent, no courage firmer, no spirit of sacrifice heartier than was theirs. They were the heroines of many serious frolics, the accounts

of which are important contributions to the inner history of the times. Thus, once at a quilting-bee at Kinderhook, N.Y., the only young man in the company ventured some aspersions upon the Congress, in session at the time in Philadelphia, and continued the offence until the girls could brook it no longer. Laying hold of him with one consent, they stripped him to the waist, coated him with molasses in lieu of tar, flecked him with flag-down in lieu of feathers, and then let him go. And one of these girls was a parson's daughter! The young ladies of Amelia County, Virginia, moved by the emergency of their country, entered into a compact "not to receive the addresses of any person, be his circumstances or situation in life what they will, unless he has served in the American armies long enough to prove by his valor that he is deserving of their love."

The patriotic fervor of a daughter of the Revolutionary period is well illustrated by a letter which is printed in the "Continental Journal," of Sept. 25, 1777. It was written by a young lady of sixteen to her brother

at Fort Washington, and, falling into the hands of an officer, so pleased him by its noble tenor that he gave out copies of it for publication. It is as follows :—

Boston, 23d Sept., 1776.

DEAR BILLY,—

WHAT news? would be the first question you'd ask could I see you. I answer by way of letter, none at all. The next is, how do you do? I answer very well; how do you do? Methinks I hear your comparatively feeble voice famed for the noise of battle; Betsey, I am well, happy accents they are—I fancy I indulge a pleasing reverie that you are now flaking the foe; how happy should I be, to hear that my brother was the first who rushed on to desperate battle. Never let the name of——raise a blush on his sister's cheek; remember from me that I am your sister, that my happiness depends on your good behaviour. Return victorious, or return no more. Rather than hear that you was a coward, or a timid asserter of the rights of your Country; I had rather hear that leaden death had dismantled your spirited soul, and sent it murmuring to the skies. I had rather be obliged to stalk the mangled heaps with the firmness of a grieved daughter of liberty, in search of the crimson'd corps of my brother, to wash his wounds with my tears, conscious that he was fighting for me, for himself, for his country—I'd call the wondering spectators, and shew your corps,

and tell them with a boasting smile this was my brother. But stop, I'll go no further — I hope you will fight and have an opportunity of seeing the ruin of your British foes : your hands stained with blood of English tyrants, shall procure you a laurier — that time shall never brush from your temples. *I am, &c.*

Often a like spirit with the foregoing showed itself in more practical ways, as in the case of Emily Geiger, a young South Carolinian maiden, not more than eighteen years of age, who under perilous circumstances volunteered to carry a letter from General Greene to General Sumter. Greene, fearing that the girl might lose the letter, first communicated its contents to her, and she then set forth upon her expedition, mounted on a fleet horse. On the second day, she was intercepted by the enemy's scouts, suspected, taken to a neighboring house, and a woman sent for to search her person. While the woman was coming, she ate up her letter piece by piece ; and the search, of course, was fruitless. She was released, and proceeding on her way reached her destination in safety, and communicated her errand.

XII.

ODDS AND ENDS.

It only remains, to complete the design of these pages, to set down here by themselves a few items of interest which have not found an orderly admission in an earlier place.

As the eye passes from the illustrious individuals of Revolutionary times, it may well rest for a moment upon some of the distinguished families whose broad estates embellished the landscape, and whose successive generations have played so important parts in the national history. Taking the country through, the aristocratic idea was far more dominant then than now. Many scions of old English households had been transplanted to the American soil, in the hope of finding room for freer and fuller growth; and the immense domains to be had almost for the asking tempted an ambition and encouraged

a taste which found satisfaction in a life laid out only on the most elaborate scale. The inequalities of the old society have been evened up in these latter days, and we look almost in vain for those great and proud families whose names a hundred years ago gave distinction to the Colonies they had helped to settle and develop. These old and honorable names were especially prominent at the South. Among them were the Izards and Draytons of South Carolina, the eminent and influential William Henry Drayton being the foremost representative of the latter, though at the time of his death, in 1779, he had attained the age of but thirty-seven years. Drayton Hall, the family seat, was an imposing mansion in the English style, fronting on the Ashley River, built some thirty years before the Revolution at a cost of \$90,000. It was of brick, much of its material having been imported from England, and was largely finished within in panel and wainscot of solid mahogany.

Another representative family of this class is found in the Fairfaxes, who traced their

descent through a long line of English lords, back to the times before the Conquest. Their vast estates were in Virginia; their seat, on the banks of the Potomac, a few miles below Mount Vernon, was named "Belvoir;" and Lord Thomas Fairfax was the friend and early patron of Washington.

Through all the fabric of Revolutionary events there ran the thread of a peculiar misery in the prevalence of the small-pox, which dread malady had not yet found its match in the treatment of vaccination. Not only the ranks of the army, but the homes of the people, were invaded by this loathsome visitor, and its devastations were terrible. Its victims were counted by thousands, and the gloomy fears of pestilence intensified the ordinary horrors of war. Nevertheless, the superstitions which prevailed, and the straits to which the sufferers were driven, gave occasion for some humorous situations. Thus, a traveller to the southward mentions that at one place he found a woman sitting wrapped in blankets, by a roaring fire, and making a

night of it in that fashion ; her intent being “to sweat out the small-pox.” A far funnier thing than this must have been a “small-pox party,” a glimpse of which is given in this extract of a letter from one Joseph Barrell, quoted by Mr. Drake from Brewster’s History of Portsmouth : * —

Mr. Storer has invited Mr. Martin to take the small-pox at his house : if Mrs. Wentworth desires to get rid of her pears in the same way, we will accommodate her in the best way we can. I’ve several friends that I’ve invited, and none of them will be more welcome than Mrs. W.

Duelling, though prohibited by law, was sustained to a considerable degree by public sentiment ; and several notable instances of the now detested practice were afforded during the Revolution. General Charles Lee was wounded in a duel with Colonel John Laurens, of Washington’s staff, who gave the challenge because of some aspersions which he had cast upon the Commander-in-chief. General Conway, the instigator of the conspiracy against Washington, known as the “Conway Cabal,”

* Old Landmarks, p. 389.

was wounded in a duel with General Cadwalader, on the 4th of July, 1778. And a year earlier Button Gwinnett, one of the signers of the Declaration, was killed in a duel with General McIntosh.

Revolutionary times were without an "Old Probabilities," but could well have kept him in occupation if he had been on the ground, provided with the necessary instruments for gathering his reports and despatching them. The winter of 1772-73 was a very mild one. In Falmouth, Me., January 27th was set down as a summer day, and no snow fell there until well into February. The winter of 1774-75 was equally remarkable for its mildness, the weather being so warm at New York in February that boys went into the river to swim. For such deficiencies in cold, however, the winter of 1779-80 made full amends. This was long remembered for its severity, and earned the name of "the hard winter." The country was buried beneath a mass of snow that at times rendered the roads utterly impassable, and Long Island Sound

was almost entirely frozen over. Persons crossed from Long Island to the Connecticut shore on the ice, and wood was brought from the same quarter to New York in sleighs.

What the clerk of the weather would have thought of the "Dark Day," the 19th of May in the same year, 1780, it is difficult to say. The phenomenon was a most astonishing one. It must have been really appalling. The day was a Friday, too! For several days previous the air had been uncommonly obscured, so that the sun and moon were given a reddish hue. Early on this Friday morning, clouds began to gather in a way to portend rain, and at eleven o'clock the darkness had become so intense as to excite remark and prompt special observation. We will let a writer in the "Country Journal," of May 20, finish the story:—

At half-past eleven, in a room with three windows, twenty-four panes each, all opened toward the south-east and south, large print could not be read by persons of good eyes. About twelve o'clock, the windows being still open, a candle cast a shade so well defined on the

wall, as that profiles were taken with as much ease as they could have been in the night. About one o'clock, a glimpse of light, which had continued till this time in the east, shut in, and the darkness was greater than it had been for any time before. Between one and two o'clock, the wind at the west freshened a little, and a glimpse of light appeared in that quarter. We dined about two, the windows all open, and two candles burning on the table. In this time of the greatest darkness, the dunghill fowls went to their roost; cocks crowed in answer to each other, as they commonly do in the night; wood-cocks, which are night birds, whistled as they do only in the dark; frogs peeped; in short, there was the appearance of midnight at noon-day. About three o'clock the light in the west increased, the motion of the clouds more thick, their color higher and more brassy than at any time before; there appeared to be quick flashes or coruscations, not unlike the aurora borealis. Between three and four o'clock we were out and perceived a strong, sooty smell; some of the company were confident a chimney in the neighbourhood must be burning; others conjectured the smell was more like that of burned leaves. About half-past four, our company, which had passed an unexpected night very cheerfully together, broke up. I will now give you what I noticed afterwards. I found the people at the tavern near by much agitated. Among other things which gave them much surprise, they mentioned the strange appearance and smell of the rain water, which they had faved in tubs. Upon

examining the water, I found a slight scum over it, which, rubbing between my thumb and finger, I found to be nothing but the black ashes of burnt leaves. . . . The vast body of smoke from the woods, which had been burning for many days, mixing with the common exhalations from the earth and water, and condensed by the action of winds from opposite points, may, perhaps, be sufficient causes to produce the surprising darkness. The wind in the evening passed round further north, where a black cloud lay, and gave us reason to expect a sudden gust from that quarter. The wind brought that body of smoke and vapour over us, in the evening, (at Salem, Massachusetts,) and perhaps it never was darker since the Children of Israel left the house of bondage. This gross darkness held till about one o'clock, although the moon had full'd but the day before. Between one and two the wind freshened up at north-east, and drove the smoke and clouds away, which had given distress to thousands, and alarmed the brute creation.

And now let us in imagination transport ourselves back to that Fourth of July, 1776, which is the supreme point of the period we have been surveying, and, turning the eye forward to that future which has become our past, pick out one by one some successive events of a familiar kind which have contributed to the century's progress; so the

better to realize the remoteness of these Revolutionary times.

July 4th, 1776: it is yet eight days before Captain Cook is to set sail from Plymouth, England, on that voyage of exploration, one achievement of which is to be the discovery, two years later, of the Sandwich Islands. A month and more of life the historian Hume has before him. Rousseau, Linnæus, and Garrick have nearly two years more; Sir William Blackstone, nearly four; and Samuel Johnson, eight. Napoleon Bonaparte is a boy of seven: thirty-nine years of varied discipline, adventure, and achievement await him before his career shall terminate at Waterloo. Walter Scott, who is to be Napoleon's biographer, is two years his junior; but Irving, who forty years later is to visit Scott at Abbotsford, is not yet born, nor will he be these seven years. It is eighteen years yet to the birth of Bryant, twenty-seven to that of Emerson, thirty-one to Longfellow's, thirty-three to Abraham Lincoln's.

Only by slow steps are new States of America to join themselves to the original

thirteen. Vermont, the first, will not present herself yet for fifteen years ; Kentucky, only after sixteen ; Tennessee, in twenty ; Ohio, in twenty-six ; Louisiana, in thirty-six ; Indiana, in forty ; Mississippi, in forty-one ; Illinois, in forty-two ; Alabama, in forty-three ; Maine, in forty-four ; Missouri, in forty-five ; Arkansas, in sixty ; Michigan, in sixty-one ; Florida and Texas, sixty-seven ; Iowa, seventy ; Wisconsin, seventy-two ; California, seventy-four ; Minnesota, eighty-two ; Oregon, eighty-three ; Kansas, eighty-five ; West Virginia, eighty-seven ; Nevada, eighty-eight ; Nebraska, ninety-one.

Equally far in the future are many of the colleges which by 1876 are to constitute so conspicuous a part of the furnishing of the land. It is seventeen years to the founding of Williams ; twenty-two to that of Bowdoin ; forty-five to that of Amherst ; forty-seven to that of Trinity ; fifty-seven to that of Oberlin ; sixty-five to that of the University of Michigan ; ninety-two to that of Cornell University.

In the world of useful arts, the steam-engine is a new invention, and has not yet passed out of the experimental stage. Steam navigation,

to the popular mind, is a chimera, and seven years must elapse before Fitch will first move his vessel by this new motive power on the Delaware ; thirty-one, before Fulton will establish "The Clermont" as a regular steam packet between New York and Albany ; forty-three, before "The Savannah" is to earn the distinction of being the first steamship to cross the great and wide sea. George Stephenson, who, thirty-eight years hence, is to construct in England his first locomotive engine, is not yet born ; and America has to wait yet half a century before it can witness the operation of its first railroad, that from the granite quarries at Quincy to tide-water. A longer time still by several years must the people continue to strike their flint and steel, before lighting their fires with "lucifer" matches.

The cotton-gin is seventeen years in the future ; illuminating gas, forty-six ; steel pens, the same ; india rubber over-shoes, fifty ; the daguerreotype, sixty-four ; the telegraph, sixty-eight ; and the sewing-machine, seventy.

Gentlemen will wear short clothes twenty

years longer, before putting on trousers ; and eat with steel forks for fifty, before exchanging them for forks of silver.

Not for twenty years yet is Jenner to begin his struggle for the introduction of vaccination ; and it must be ten years more before this his beneficent theory shall have won its triumph over the combined forces of superstition and bigotry. For sixty years longer must the surgeon's patient suffer under the operating-knife, before the inhalation of ether can be resorted to for the deadening of his sensibilities. It will be thirty-six years before the experimenting American will succeed in getting anthracite coal to burn, sixty before he will arm himself with a revolver, and sixty-one before he will see a steam-vessel propelled by a screw. Not for fifty years will an "iron-clad" afloat demonstrate the possibility of a revolution in naval architecture ; not for seventy-five will petroleum freely supersede sperm oil and candles.

For forty years longer the American printer is to work with a hand-press, though in something less than that time he will adopt the

process of stereotyping ; but it will be seventy-five years before he will make the improvement of electrotyping, and eighty or more before he will apply the new method to the printing of newspapers. After the lapse of about this same time, he will amuse himself with machines for setting up and distributing type, and just a little later will pause with interest before a shop window to see a young lady operate a "type-writer." But in less than fifty years he will have received from Europe the art of lithography.

Nearly ninety years must pass before the travelling American can take his seat amid the luxuries of a Pullman car, and more than ninety before he can enter upon his comfortable journey in it, with meals by day and sleep by night, across the continent ; while, in the street cars of the cities, only the closing years of the century will resound to the mellow ring with which the conductor of uncertain integrity signifies his obedience to the direction to

"Punch in the presence of the passenjare."

Finally, to the best of this present writer's

knowledge and belief, the very last year of all the busy and eventful one hundred must come before an inquiring reader can find in any such snug compass as that in which this little book has attempted to present it, a bird's-eye view of the things that were at the beginning.

APPENDIX.

THE materials of this book have been derived mainly from the following sources : —

- Bancroft's History of the United States.
- Lossing's Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution.
- Moore's Diary of the Revolution.
- Hudson's Journalism in the United States.
- Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife.
- Drake's Old Landmarks of Boston.
- Memoir of Josiah Quincy, Jr.
- Breed's Presbyterians and the Revolution.
- Patterson's Historical Sketch of the Synod of Philadelphia.
- Mrs. Ellet's The Women of the American Revolution.
- Timlow's Sketches of Southington, Conn.
- Boston Gazette, 1773-1775.
- New England Chronicle, 1775-1776.
- Continental Journal, 1777.
- Crosby's First Half-Century of Dartmouth College.
- Stevens's Address on Old New York before the New York Historical Society.
- Duyckinck's Cyclopedia of American Literature.
- Manuscripts and private memorials.

Those who desire to go further in this exploration of Revolutionary times will find important helps among the works grouped below. Any thing like completeness in such a list is of course out of the question here; and the reader should be frankly warned that many of the books named are scarce, and some excessively rare; while comparatively few are to be found in public libraries. The titles are in most cases abbreviated, and the names of authors are in italics.

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I N D E X.



- ADAMS, Hannah, 123.
 Adams, John, 22, 25, 60, 63, 93, 114, 120, 165, 169, 174.
 Adams, Samuel, 22, 114, 149, 175.
 Aitkin, Robert, 121.
 Albany, N. Y., 27, 28, 51.
 Allen, Ethan, 115.
 Amboy, N. J., 13.
 Amusements, 72-77.
 Annapolis, Md., 13, 14, 41.
 Apthorps, The, 31.
 Architecture, 37, 82.
 Arnold, Benedict, 178.
 Auchmuty, Dr., 149.
 Augusta, Ga., 14, 43.

 BALLS, 76-78.
 Baltimore, Md., 14, 20, 41, 42, 52, 82.
 Baptists, 145, 146.
 Barlow, Joel, 119.
 Bartram, John, 16, 116.
 Bartram, William, 116.
 Bath, N. C., 47.
 "Battle of the Kegs," 115.
 Bayards, The, 31.
 Beaufort, S. C., 50.
 Belknap, Dr. Jeremy, 122.
 Bethlehem, Pa., 25, 46.
 Bland, Richard, 122.
 Bland, Theodorick, 122.
 Bleecker, Mrs. Ann Eliza, 118.
 Book-store, An old, 128.
 Boone, Daniel, 15.
 Boston, Mass., 13, 19, 28, 33-40, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 62, 73, 80, 120, 136, 150, 167.
 Boston Gazette, 52, 72, 88, 129, 130.
 Brackenridge, Hugh Henry, 121.
 Burr, Aaron, 178.
 Byles, Mather, 150.
 Burgoyne's surrender, Tidings of, 48.

 CADWALADER, Gen., 188.
 Caldwell, Rev. James, 149.
 Cambridge, Mass., 14, 41, 150, 164.
 Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, 21.
 Carroll, Charles, 42, 176.
 Charleston, S. C., 13, 14, 20, 42, 45, 48, 53, 55.
 Chase, Samuel, 42, 176.
 Chauncy, Dr. Charles, 150.
 Children, Habits of, 85.
 Church, Dr. Benjamin, 122.
 Churches, 25, 29, 36, 37, 145-160.
 Cities, The five prominent, 19.
 Civilians of eminence, 174-178.
 Clergy, The, 147-152.
 Coffee-houses, 30, 31.
 Colleges, 25, 29, 41, 102-111, 148, 150, 163.
 Colonies, The thirteen original, 13.
 "Common Sense," 121, 143.
 Concert, Programme of a, 72.
 Concord, Mass., 164.
 Congregationalists, 145.
 Congress, 22, 23, 109-111, 149, 175, 176.
 Connecticut, 13, 16, 46, 147.
 Continental Journal, 56, 181.
 Conway, Gen., 187.
 Cooper, Rev. Dr. Samuel, 150.
 Copley, John S., 42, 168, 169.
 Cornwallis, 20.
 Country Journal, 189.
 Courtship of Matthew Griswold, 86.

- "DARK DAY" of 1780, 189-191.
 Declaration of Independence, 17,
 23, 42, 175, 176, 188.
 De Kalb, 174.
 De Lanceys, The, 31.
 Delaware, 13.
 Delaware River, 51.
 Detroit, 12, 17.
 Dickinson, John, 115, 176.
 Dorchester, Mass., 16.
 Dorchester, S. C., 16, 159.
 Draper, Mrs. Mary, 179.
 Draytons, The, 185.
 Dress, 69-71.
 Duché, Rev. Jacob, 115, 149.
 Duelling, 187.
 Duffield, Dr., 149.
 Du Simitière, 117.
 Dutch Reformed, The, 145.
 Dutch, The, 27, 46, 158.
 Dwight, Rev. Timothy, 118, 119,
 130.

 EASTON, Pa., 27.
 East Windsor, Conn., 78.
 Edenton, N. C., 47.
 Emmons, Rev. Dr., 87, 112, 115,
 120, 151.
 Engravers, 167.
 Episcopalians, 145, 146, 147, 149,
 157.
 Essex Gazette, 94.
 Euphrates, Pa., 47.
 Evans, Nathaniel, 122.
 Exeter, N. H., 13, 40.

 FAIRFAXES, The, 185, 186.
 Falmouth, Me., 14, 40, 53, 93, 185.
 Families of distinction, 31, 184-186.
 Farm, A model, 161, 162.
 Farmer's life, The, 162, 163.
 Farmington, Conn., 95.
 Florida, 16.
 Flucker, Thomas, 176.
 "Flying machine," 52.
 Fourth of July, 1776, prospect from,
 191-197.
 Franklin, Benjamin, 94, 174.
 Franklin, William, 54, 55.
 Freneau, 117, 118.
 Funeral customs, 89.

 Future, view of from 4th of July,
 1776, 191-197.

 GADSDEN, Christopher, 22, 177.
 Gaine's Mercury, 73.
 Gates, Gen. Horatio, 173.
 Geiger, Emily, 183.
 Germantown, Pa., 25, 46.
 Georgetown, Md., 41.
 Georgia, 13, 16, 49, 179.
 German Reformed, 145.
 Germans, The, 46.
 Godfrey, Thomas, 123.
 Governments, Forms of, 18.
 Graydon, Alexander, 118.
 Greene, Gen. Nathaniel, 173, 183.
 Greene, Mrs. Gen., 179.
 Griswold, Matthew, Courtship of,
 86.
 Gwinnett, Button, 176, 187.

 HAMILTON, Alexander, 175.
 Hancock House, The 38-40.
 Hancock, John, 87, 175.
 Hartford, Conn., 13, 14, 41, 46, 51.
 Henry, Patrick, 22, 177.
 Hopkinson, Francis, 115, 121.
 House, Interior of, 83.
 Hudson River, 82.
 Humphreys, David, 119.

 INDEPENDENCE Hall, 23.
 Indiana, 16.
 Indian tribes, 12, 17.
 Industrial interests, 161.
 Inventory in a New Hampshire
 family, 98.
 Isles of Shoals, 14.
 Izards, The, 185.

 JAY, John, 22, 166.
 Jefferson, Thomas, 114, 174.
 Johnston's Hall, 82.
 Johnstown, N. Y., 82.
 Jones, Samuel, 166.
 Journalism, 132-143.

 KINDERHOOK, N. Y., 187.
 Kitchen, Scene in, 84.
 Knox, Gen. Henry, 173.
 Knox, Mrs. Gen., 178.
 Kosciuszko, 174.

LAFAYETTE, 76, 77, 174.
 Lake George, 51.
 Lancaster, Pa., 26, 46, 47.
 Langdon, Dr., 150.
 Laurens, Col. John, 187.
 Lawyers, 165-167.
 Lee, Gen. Charles, 173, 187.
 Lee, Richard Henry, 176.
 Libraries, 127-129.
 Linn, Rev. William, 118.
 Littlefield, Catherine Mrs. Gen. Greene), 170.
 Livingstons, The, 31, 166, 175.
 Louisiana, 16.
 Lutherans, 27, 145.

MAILS, 54-57.
 Maine, 12, 14, 40, 53.
 Manufactures, 164.
 Marblehead, Mass., 40.
 Maryland, 13, 15, 16, 41, 47.
 Marriage notices, 87, 88.
 Massachusetts, 12, 13, 15, 16, 53, 147, 178.
 Meeting-houses, 153.
 Men of the Revolution, 171-178.
 Methodists, 145, 146.
 "M'Fingal," 119.
 Minister, call and settlement of, 152.
 Mississippi River and Valley, 12, 44.
 Mohawk Valley, The, 15, 51.
 Money system, 100.
 Montgomery, Gen., 161, 173.
 Morality, 63.
 Morris, Gouverneur, 118.
 Morris, Robert, 176.
 Morrises, The, 31.
 Morristown, N. J., 46, 157.
 Music in the churches, 154.

NEWARK, N. J., 27.
 Newbern. N. C., 13, 14, 48.
 Newburyport, Mass., 52.
 Newcastle, Del., 13, 14.
 New England Chronicle, 64, 130, 164.
 New England life and traits, 60, 61, 81, 146, 161, 179.
 New Hampshire, 12, 13, 14, 15, 51.
 New Haven, Conn., 13, 41, 46, 51, 150. [147.
 New Jersey, 13, 14, 15, 16, 51, 82,

New Orleans, 44.
 Newport, R. I., 13, 41.
 Newspapers, 132-143.
 New York, City of, 13, 27, 33, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 62, 73, 80, 136, 188.
 New York Gazette, 87, 100.
 New York, State of, 12, 13, 15, 82.
 Norfolk, Va., 14.
 North Carolina, 13, 15, 16, 47, 61, 82, 166.

OFFICERS of the Revolution, 171-174.
 Ohio, 16.
 Otis, James, 115.

PACA, William, 42.
 Paine, Thomas, 121.
 Painters, 167-170.
 Peale, Charles W., 168.
 Peale, Rembrandt, 168.
 Pennsylvania, 13, 16, 21, 61, 147.
 Pennsylvania Gazette, 55.
 Pennsylvania Magazine, 121.
 Pennsylvania, University of, 25.
 Philadelphia, Pa., 13, 20-25, 26, 27, 46, 51, 52, 55, 80, 94, 102, 117, 121, 147, 166, 169, 177.
 Piercy, Rev. Mr., 44.
 Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth, 177.
 Pittsburg, Pa., 12, 27.
 Plymouth, Mass., 14.
 Political parties, 62.
 Population in 1776, 59.
 Portsmouth, N. H., 14, 40, 187.
 Post-office, The, 57.
 Presbyterians, 16, 145, 146, 158.
 Prices, 95-100.
 Princeton, N. J., 29, 148.
 Products of the several States, 16.
 Providence, R. I., 13, 14, 41, 45, 51.
 Pulaski, 174.
 Putnam, Gen. Israel, 173.

QUAKERS in Philadelphia, 21.
 Quincy, Josiah, Jr., 53, 75.

RAGS, Scarcity of, 140, 141.
 Reading, Penn., 14, 46.
 Reamstown, Pa., 46.
 Revere, Paul, 107.
 Rhode Island, 13, 15, 45, 147.

Richmond, Va., 51.
 Rittenhouse, David, 177.
 Roads, 51.
 Rodney, Cæsar, 176.
 Roman Catholics, 17, 145, 146.
 Romans, Bernard, 116.
 Rush, Dr. Benjamin, 102, 121.
 Rutledge, Edward, 22, 176.
 Rutledge, John, 22.
 SABBA'-DAY Houses, 156.
 San Francisco, Mission of, 17.
 Salem, Mass., 40, 94.
 Savannah, Ga., 13, 14, 43.
 Schools, Professional, 112.
 School, A morning, 112.
 Schuyler, Gen. Philip, 173.
 Seabury, Dr., 149.
 Sectional contrasts, 59-61.
 Sewall, Jonathan M., 122.
 Sherman, Roger, 175.
 Signers of the Declaration, 42, 115.
 Slavery, 68.
 Small-pox, 186, 187.
 Smibert, 169.
 South Carolina, 13, 14, 15, 16, 61, 159, 185.
 Southern traits, 61.
 Spanish, The, 44.
 Springfield, Mass., 41, 51.
 Stage-coach, 52, 53.
 Stark, Gen. John, 173.
 States, Governments of, 18.
 States, Products of, 16.
 Steuben, Baron, 174.
 Stiles, Dr., 115, 150.
 Stillman, Dr., 150.
 St. Lawrence River, 54.
 St. Louis, Mo., 16.
 Stone, Thomas, 42.
 Store. Interior of a, 164.
 Stuart, Gilbert, 169.
 Stuyvesants, The, 31.
 Sumter, Gen., 183.
 Sullivan, Gen. John, 173.

TAVERNS, 30.
 Theatre, 73, 76.
 Thomas, Isaiah, 123.

Thompson, Charles, 116, 176.
 Thursday Lecture in Boston, 157.
 Tories and Whigs, 62.
 Travel, 43-54.
 Trumbull, John, the painter, 169.
 Trumbull, John, the poet, 119.
 Trumbull, Jonathan, 117, 177.
 UNITED STATES Magazine, 121.
 Universalists, 147.

VAUGHAN, John, 23.
 Vermont, 12.
 Vincennes, Ind., 16.
 Virginia, 13, 14, 15, 16, 47, 51, 61, 82, 159, 181, 186.
 Vredenburg, Jacob, 79.

WAGES, 163.
 Waltham, Va., 51.
 Warren, Mercy, 123, 178.
 Ward, Gen. Artemas, 173.
 Washington, George, 22, 105-107, 114, 124-127, 157, 159, 169, 172, 173, 187.
 Washington, The mother of, 180.
 Watertown, Mass., 41.
 Watson, Elkanah, 45-50.
 Wattses, The, 31.
 Wealth, 62.
 Weather in 1772-80, 188.
 Webster, Noah, 122.
 West, Benjamin, 169.
 West, Colonization of the, 16.
 Westchester, N.Y., 161.
 Wheatley, Phillis, 123-127.
 Whigs and Tories, 62.
 Whitefield, Rev. George, 40, 43.
 Williamsburg, Va., 13, 47.
 Wilmington, N.C., 48.
 Witherspoon, Dr., 115, 121, 148, 176.
 Wolcott, Oliver, 175.
 Wolcott, Ursula, and Matthew Griswold, 86.
 Women of the Revolution, 178-183.
 Wyoming, Valley of, 15.

YORK, Me., 165.
 Yorktown, Pa., 27.

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